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Protestors Gather at BSP Headquarters in Sofia

Building Set on Fire

AU2608195090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Our reporter Krasimira Marinova just returned from the square in front of Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] headquarters:

Following the announcement on Bulgarian Television and statements by Yosif Petrov, member of the Grand National Assembly, and Radoy Ralin, concerning the danger of young people killing themselves, people from all over Sofia are pouring into the square in front of BSP headquarters. The square is full of people. The windows of the BSP headquarters and the BSP Club are being broken. The building itself is on fire.

The vehicles of the firefighting brigade cannot approach the building because of the people in the square. The people are chanting, "Murderers!" "Death!" and "Down with the BSP!"

The appeals of Konstantin Trenchev and Radoy Ralin to halt the growing tensions are having no visible effect.

Assembly Chairman Heads for Square

AU2608195690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Esteemed listeners, a short while ago academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, called Bulgarian Radio. He said that he personally had quickly set off for the square in front of Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] headquarters. What is happening in the square, he said, does not forebode anything good, he said. He said that he tried to approach Plamen Stanchev and Father Ambarev, who seem to have decided to set fire to themselves. A thick wall of people barred him from reaching the two. Young people have surrounded him and they helped him to leave the square. Academician Nikolay Todorov said that he succeeded in contacting Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Republic, who is at the Evksinograd Residence, and reported to him on the events occurring in Sofia.

BTA Reports Attack by 'Excited People'

AU2708065390 Sofia BTA in English 0011 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Riots in the Centre of Sofia: BSP Building Set Afire"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—Late last night several hundreds of extremely excited people attacked the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (the Party House) in the centre of Sofia, smashed the window panes on the first floor, broke into it and set it on fire. The flames quickly spread all over the building. The attackers are throwing out of the windows furniture and documents and set them to fire in the square in front of the building. Some of the attackers are carrying ham and sausages out of the building. They say the inside is crowded with other scarce commodities.

At about 20:00 hrs. there was a small group of policemen near the building, but they did not intervene and the people who had gathered in the square for two hours did not allow the fire brigade cars and the special helmeted law enforcement units of the police to get to the building.

Some policemen explained to the citizens that "they have not received orders to intervene" and that they were waiting for an order from the president to come.

According to eyewitnesses who talked with them and according to information received from BTA reporters the passiveness of the police seems strange.

In an address on radio the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, who is not in the capital, called for stopping the riots.

This is a gross violation of public peace which nothing can justify and which puts the country in the danger of riots, chaos and civil war. This act is not a struggle for democracy, but one of recklessly pushing the country to military dictatorship, Dr. Zhelev said.

He appealed on all Bulgarians, irrespective of their party membership and political persuasions, to abstain from violence and to do their best for isolating those who commit acts of violence or call for violence.

The majority of the Bulgarian people is against violence and they will not allow to be diverted from the peaceful road to parliamentary democracy. The leadership of the country will take all necessary measures for the restoration of public peace, the president said.

In the meantime Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev appeared in the square in front of the Party House and tried to calm down the crowd, but having found himself amidst several thousands of people crying "Down with the BCP," [Bulgarian Communist Party] he was buffeted around and hit. Later on it became known he had got a renal crisis. [sentence as received] An hour later General Semerdzhiev came to the square again unattended and explained to the angry citizens and reporters that he had ordered the police not to resort to extreme measures.

In that time all the Party House was ablaze and the flames spread to the other neighbouring buildings which also belong to the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). A few hours after the fire began the firemen tried to put it out, but flames and smoke were seen to come out of the upper floors and the roof of the eight-story building.

In the Pirogov Emergency Hospital there are several people who were wounded by the pieces of glass blown out by the fire and from objects falling from the building.

The riots have been prompted by the decision of Plamen Stanchev who declared he would ignite himself. He had declared he would burn himself to death if the red pentacle on the pinnacle of the party house was not removed. On Wednesday [22 August] the Secretariat of the Presidium of the BSP Supreme Council, Rumen Serbezov, handed to Stanchev an official letter containing a declaration that the pentacle would be taken down in five days. The set time limit expired yesterday and the young man threatened he would ignite himself. At 21:00 hrs. the film aired by the television on Channel 1 was interrupted. The writer Radoy Ralin and Yosif Petrov, a national representative at the Grand National Assembly of the opposition Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, appeared on television and called for the urgent intervention of the people on whom the rescue of a human life depended.

A little bit later it became known that the Party House was attacked and set on fire and President Zhelev's declaration was broadcast.

At 24:00 hrs. the Khorizont programme of the Bulgarian Radio broadcast a declaration of the Parliamentary Union of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) which supported the president's appeal for non-violence.

The SDS is for a peaceful parliamentary transition to democracy. We call our adherents and all supporters of democracy to oppose any illegal actions and acts of violence and to keep public peace, it is said in the declaration.

According to a BTA reporter, by 01:00 hrs. the situation began to ease. The special law enforcement units of the police (the "Red Berets") appeared in the square. Their commander, who did not tell his name, stated they were inside the building, but the attackers had already left it.

Vice President Semerdzhiev confirmed before reporters once again he had ordered the police not to resort to violence.

The Ministry of the Interior has announced that the police units all over the country are ready for action to prevent similar incidents in other towns and cities. The director of the police gave orders to tighten the control at the checkpoints near Sofia to prevent the possible arrival of motor cars from other places of the country.

A commander of the firemen stated that the fire which had spread to several floors of the central building and to two neighbouring ones belonging to the BSP Supreme Council would not be put out before Monday by noon.

At 01:30 hrs. some young people broke into the building of the BSP Supreme Council again and began throwing out of the windows different objects, portraits of Lenin and documents amidst the approving shouts of several thousand people standing in the street.

The events related to the Party House developed in front of the eyes of hundreds of Sofianites. Most of them hailed the throwing out of portraits of Lenin and Georgi Dimitrov with shouts "Down with the BCP" and "We don't want communism." Many got "souvenirs" from the burning Party House stationery, unimportant documents. When the firemen began to put out the blazes on the second floor of the building, the crowd grumbled dissatisfied.

At 03:00 hrs. the fire was still burning.

The streets near the building were blocked. Otherwise the city is calm.

Zhelev: 'Please Refrain From Violence'

AU2608201990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Aug 90

["Appeal" from President Zhelyu Zhelev in Sofia on 26 August—recorded]

[Text] Less than one hour ago I was informed that several hundred citizens had attacked Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] headquarters, had broken the doors, and set fire to the building's first floor. This is a crude violation of public order which cannot be justified, and which confronts the country with the danger of disorder, chaos, and civil war. This is not a struggle for democracy but a senseless act of pushing the country toward a military dictatorship.

I appeal to all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of their party affiliation and political beliefs, and to all political forces in the country: Please refrain from violence and do everything possible to isolate those who either commit or call for violence.

The great majority of the Bulgarian people are against violence and they will not allow themselves to be distracted from the peaceful road toward parliamentary democracy.

The leadership of the country will adopt all necessary measures to restore the public order.

'Extremists,' 'Provocateurs' Cited

AU2708090190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Appeal" to the nation by President Zhelyu Zhelev on the "vandalous act committed at the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party"; in Sofia on 27 August—recorded]

[Text] Dear compatriots:

The development of the political crisis in Bulgaria has entered a new stage. The setting on fire of the Party Building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] in Sofia, under circumstances which have not yet been sufficiently explained, by extremists and provocateurs poses a most serious threat to social and civil peace in Bulgaria.

At this grave and tense moment, when the peaceful transition of our land to democracy is put to the test, I appeal to all honorable Bulgarians, who hold dear peace, calm, and the future of the state. Do not give way to provocations. Avoid all actions and appeals which lead or may lead to an intensification of the social tension. Display the strong political common sense which we need so much today. Show wisdom and a sense of responsibility to our people, our children, and their future. Currently, an immense responsibility lies on the shoulders of the main political forces and their leaders. They must demonstrate that they genuinely cherish the people and that they are true fighters for democracy.

There exist certain people and groups who do not want Bulgaria to advance toward democracy along a peaceful path, who do not want the democratic transition to evolve as in the other countries of East Europe, as in the GDR, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. They are seeking violence, revenge, chaos, and destruction, since they calculate that in this way they can fulfill themselves and achieve their aims. For them, their personal cause is more important than any democracy, more important than the national interests of the Bulgarian people and the people's future. For this reason, they do not even stop short of the [word indistinct] type of personal self-fulfillment. They are ready not only to set fire to a building, but also to plunge the nation into bloodshed in order to place themselves in the annals of history.

In the spring of this year, we conducted an unprecedented election campaign. We held hundreds of rallies in the country's villages and towns. At times, the campaign acquired a dramatic character, but never did we permit violence, destruction, or terror. The election campaign remained within the framework of an ideological and political struggle. It was a struggle of ideas, political programs, and election platforms. Thanks to this, and despite everything, the elections for the Grand National Assembly became a political school for the country, for all the Bulgarian people. Thanks to this, the world also began to respect us as a people not only worthy but also capable of building a democratic political system in their own country through peaceful, nonviolent, and civilized means.

Ask yourselves, now, when the country has a legally elected parliament, a functioning presidential institution, and is on the way to forming a strong, effective government which is to implement radical reforms, who finds it necessary to set fire to the BSP party building? To whom is all this necessary in fact, at a moment when the Grand National Assembly is beginning intensive work, when it is due this very week to adopt two exceptionally important draft laws—a law on the complete depolitization of the Army, militia, the courts, the prosecutors office, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and a law on creating interim administrations, which are to become guarantors for civil peace in the country and at the same time prepare for the local authority elections—two bills, the adoption of which will be a giant step forward toward the final dismantling of the political system of totalitarianism, and at the same time a leap forward toward building a parliamentary democracy in Bulgaria? Who needs this, when during the next few weeks and one or two months the Grand National Assembly is due to adopt a law on agrarian reform, a law on privatization, a law on ownership, a law on banks, and other economic laws which this very autumn will transform our economy from a planned and centralist one into a true modern market economy?

We want to carry out a revolution based on reason in Bulgaria, and we are conducting a sensible, peaceful revolution. The Grand National Assembly is steadily gaining experience and strength. It has begun to look into all sides of the national problems, informs the public of these problems, and is working on a number of draft laws to solve them. Democracy and responsibility prevails, not revenge. In the name of the people, we will never permit anyone to stain the people's virtue nor to lower them in the eyes of the civilized world. Who are the people who have spurned the law and parliament? Which party do they represent? Whose interests are they defending? If we judge by their deeds, whether they wish it or not, they are serving and acting for the benefit of the most (?perverted) and dark forces in our society. These are people who want a new dictatorship. We must also say no to a dictatorship, no to the threat to the process of democracy, no to everyone who attacks the right of the Bulgarian to live in a reasonable way in a reasonable and humane society.

However, since the crime is already a fact, it must be punished according to all the requirements of our laws. Otherwise, we cannot become a state committed to the rule of law. Therefore, the organs of the court and the prosecutor's office will carry out a complete investigation. Apart from this, a independent parliamentary commission will be formed to investigate the causes and circumstances and to find the instigators and participants in this outrageous act of vandalism which offends our young democracy.

Police Ordered To Stop Riots

AU2708070790 Sofia BTA in English 0642 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—At two o'clock at night the president of the Republic convened a conference at the Ministry of the Interior. It was held with the participation of the leaders of the political forces and the management of the Ministry of the Interior. The president ordered the law enforcement units to apply all measures prescribed by the law, except for using arms, so that the riots in the centre of Sofia be stopped. The police forces were instructed to surround the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party; the special police units received orders to enter the building and take out all persons who broke into it and the fire brigade to put out all fires.

The president called upon all people to abide by the measures resulting from these orders and to back up the police in normalizing the situation in Sofia.

'More Than 50' Arrests Reported

AU2708084190 Sofia BTA in English 0817 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—Up to the moment the investigating authorities have arrested more than 50 persons, 39 of whom are detained in connection with last night's outrages, the Prosecuting Magistracy has announced.

Witnesses are being interrogated, confrontations are being held, searches and seizures are being performed, the place of the incident is being inspected and appraisals by experts have been instituted.

The Central Investigating Department qualifies last night's acts performed by part of the crowd as a gross violation of public peace. The indictments are using force against the authorities, arson and destruction of the property of the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party on a large scale.

Hammer, Sickle Removed From Offices Before Riots

Taken Down From BSP Supreme Council

AU2408183990 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—The hammer and sickle bas-relief was taken down by mountaineers today from the headquarters of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The Grand National Assembly has resolved that symbols of foreign states should be removed from the buildings, flags and anthems of state bodies and political parties.

One reason why this matter was raised was the ultimatum which two members of the public issued that they were going to set themselves on fire if the red star was not taken down from the BSP Supreme Council headquarters. The BSP parliamentary faction gave assurances that it will have the bas-relief dismantled in three days and agreed that the party symbols should not be placed above the state ones, as is the case with the red star surmounting the BSP headquarters, which stands way above the national flag hoisted over the Presidency next door.

A spokesman for the BSP parliamentary faction told the BTA that the lowering of the red star involves more technical problems but will be done. The Socialists will decide whether to keep the star symbol at their congress, due to open on September 22.

'Approving Audience' Views Removal

AU2508172990 Sofia BTA in English 1651 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Aug (BTA)—These days the communist symbols are leaving the centre of Sofia.

Yesterday, amidst the approving cries of several hundreds of Bulgarians, two mountaineers removed with hammers the pentacle and the hammer and sickle of the stone bas-relief which decorated the Party House (the building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party). Last night with a common daze and again in the presence of an approving audience several people destroyed the marble hammer and sickle on the back of the now former Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov.

Today the Presidency also parted with the symbols of communism—the hammer and sickle, which are placed on nearly all administrative buildings and on those that belong to the Bulgarian Socialist Party. A lot of Sofianites came specially to see how "communism goes away," as one can read on a sign in the Town of Truth near the Presidency.

To speed up the parting, the inhabitants of the Town of Truth declared a "Lenin's Saturday" or a working day—a method frequently made use of in the years of "developed socialism" to fulfil production plans. The workers who destroyed the pentacles hewn symmetrically in stone all along the building of the Presidency were given help by the onlookers. The pieces that fell on the ground were collected as souvenirs by the audience which constantly changed. "This is our Berlin Wall," they said.

According to the inhabitants of the Town of Truth the "Lenin's Saturdays" will go on. What they mean is the pentacles on the building of the Council of Ministers and on other buildings in Sofia and the country [will be removed].

Kuwaiti Envoy Ends Visit, Expresses Appreciation

AU2408140790 Sofia BTA in English 1255 GMT 24 Aug 90

"Kuwait Highly Appreciates Bulgaria's Position"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—"We very highly appreciate the position of Bulgaria and of the Bulgarian people who backed up Kuwait," the special envoy of Kuwait's Amir, Mr. Fahd al-Hassawi, said at a news conference with journalists held today at the end of his two-day visit to Sofia.

He had meetings with President Zhelyu Zhelev to whom he handed a message from the amir of Kuwait; with Academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly; and with Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov.

"Everybody I had meetings with showed deep understanding and expressed support for our cause," Mr. al-Hassawi said. He was assured that Bulgaria one of the first countries which backed up Kuwait, will support it in the future, too.

At the talks the two sides discussed the problem of the serious economic difficulties Bulgaria has got to face as a result of the aggression of Iraq. The Kuwaiti side expressed its complete understanding and regret as to this problem. "It is too early to consider the question of some compensation," Mr. al-Hassawi said. "We discussed in general the economic consequences and the problems arising for Bulgaria from the crisis in the Persian Gulf. We fully understand the steps taken by

Bulgaria and realize what consequences they have for her economic situation. We touched upon the economic cooperation between our countries in general, too."

According to Mr. al-Hassawi, if a peaceful solution to the conflict is not found, the concentration of troops in the region will continue and thus the danger of an armed conflict will grow. A war will bring about exceptionally great destruction in the whole area. "I hope somebody will listen to the voice of common sense," the special envoy of Kuwait's amir said.

"Practically the fact that the whole world took the same position condemning the aggression of Iraq against Kuwait is of paramount importance and a rare precedent in history," Mr. al-Hassawi underlined. "We know ours is a just cause, justice must triumph."

Iraqi Envoy Warned Over New Travel Restrictions

AU2508152790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Here is an announcement from the Arab Countries Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which we received by telephone literally just minutes ago.

The Bulgarian Embassy in Baghdad has been officially notified that today the Iraqi side has introduced a new set of restrictions on the travel of Bulgarian citizens in Iraq.

Immediately after receiving the report, Zdravko Velev, chief of the Arab Countries Department, summoned the Iraqi ambassador to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Sofia. He conveyed a strong demand that the Iraqi side reconsider its decision and permit the travel of the group of women, children, workers, and specialists who were supposed to leave Baghdad tomorrow at 1400 for Amman, Jordan.

It was pointed out to the Iraqi ambassador that Iraq bears full responsibility for the security of all Bulgarian citizens on Iraqi soil.

Our ambassador in Baghdad has been given instructions to seek a meeting at the highest possible level in order to firmly demand the lifting of all restrictions on the travel of Bulgarian citizens in Iraq.

Third World Credits, Losses From Embargo Viewed

AU2408130090 Sofia BTA in English 1229 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—The problems Bulgaria is facing as a result of the embargo on trade with Iraq have prompted economist Vera Akhundova, M.Sc., to analyse Bulgaria's economic relations with the Third-World countries in an article brought out in SVOBODEN NAROD. The author reminds that under more than 70 intergovernmental agreements by the end of 1989 Bulgaria had granted state credits to the developing countries amounting to more than 2.3 milliard [billion] dollars. Five countries account for about 80 per cent of all credit lines: Iraq, Libya, Nicaragua, Algeria and Nigeria. This fact made Ms. Akhundova conclude that a considerable part of the credits were granted to countries of unstable political situation mainly for political reasons.

It is pointed out in the article that in the 1980-1988 period the state credit lines utilizable for special purposes sharply increased, while the volume of investment credits dropped. According to Akhundova the special purpose credits went in financing purchases of weapons, military equipment and other military supplies, and in the case of countries such as Iraq and Nicaragua—in the deliveries of foodstuffs as well.

The author of the article considers Iraq to be a special case in Bulgaria's credit policy. Iraq accounts for 55 per cent of the credit liabilities of the developing countries to Bulgaria. Special exports account for more than 75 per cent of all deliveries under the special state credit line.

In the period of the war between Iran and Iraq Bulgaria received payments for the credits utilized by Iraq amounting to about 10 or 11 per cent of the total amount of the debt. In 1988-1989 four government decisions were adopted for deferring Iraqi payments to Bulgaria, the sum total of payments deferred being to the tune of more than one milliard dollars. Ms. Akhundova considers that the amount of more than 600 million dollars, the payment of which was deferred in the middle of last year, is especially inexpedient.

The worsening of the political situation around Iraq will have a negative impact on Bulgaria's overall economic, currency and financial situation, it is pointed out in the article. According to the author the losses incurred have several aspects. On the one hand Bulgaria's joining the economic blockade will result in completely stopping the deliveries of oil and other goods through which the debt could be redeemed. On the other hand the amount of the unpaid credits due to Bulgaria would probably be devalued.

Presidential Adviser: Zhelev Hopes for U.S. Aid

AU2408191890 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, who was recently elected as Bulgaria's first non-communist president in 40 years, relies very much on U.S. aid for the country's recovery from the economic crisis, said Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev M.P. of the Union of Democratic Forces, political adviser of the president. During the consultations which the president held with U.S. experts, senators and diplomats this week, the American officials promised shipments of forage and a speedier settlement of bilateral business relations through long-term agreements, a study of the possibility to grant Bulgaria a most favoured nation status, commodity credit and expertise.

The United States promised to ask Saudi Arabia to deliver oil to Bulgaria. Bulgaria, which is now in the grips of an acute shortage of gasoline, has no diplomatic relations with the oil-rich Arabian kingdom.

A special envoy of the amir of Kuwait, who visited here yesterday, said that the amir will assist Bulgaria to establish diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia.

"After his talks this week, President Dr. Zhelev has reasons to rely on specific U.S. involvement in the stabilization of the Bulgarian economy," Mr. Ludzhev said.

Without naming destinations and dates, he hinted that the president faces a "rather busy diplomatic autumn"; the United States will be one of the first countries he will visit.

Mr. Ludzhev said that the president held intense consultations on normalization of Bulgaro-Turkish political and economic relations which soured due to the arbitrary and illegal coercion to which the ousted communist regime subjected the Turkish ethnic community in Bulgaria.

Zhelev Meets U.S. Chamber of Commerce Delegation

AU2408191990 Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, today conferred with the visiting delegation of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, led by Mr. Richard Ran, vice president of the chamber. Dr. Zhelev familiarized the guests with the democratic processes under way in Bulgaria and with the political and economic situation in the country.

The president said that he had submitted two bills to the Grand National Assembly: on the depoliticization of the Army, the police, the law courts, the Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and on amendments to the Local Government Elections Act, which will finally eliminate the merger of party and state power.

Mr. Richard Ran expressed his delegation's optimism about the future prosperity of Bulgaria.

BSP's Lilov Proposes Lukanov for Prime Minister

AU2408125890 Sofia BTA in English 1149 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], which has the majority in the Grand National Assembly, considers that in the present conditions Mr. Andrey Lukanov would be the best prime minister. He told a BTA reporter that at the consultations with President Zhelyu Zhelev which were opened yesterday he confirmed the nomination of Mr. Lukanov the Socialists had put up a month ago. The important thing is forming a government of national consensus which could settle the problems of the country, Mr. Lilov pointed out.

He believes that Mr. Andrey Lukanov will manage to form a government that will not be a one-party one, but a cabinet comprising representatives of other political forces too, no matter what its form may be.

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov expressed his hope that it would be possible to form such a government, although not in the classical form of a coalition of political forces.

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov said that in principle the possibility of the minority in parliament forming a government should not be ruled out. In his opinion a government formed by any party alone cannot lead the country out of the crisis.

BSP's Internal Crises Said at 'Critical' Point

AU2408111590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 90 p 4

[Docent Zakhari Zakhariev article: "The Materials for Patching Up the Facade Are Exhausted"]

[Text] The election of the new president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria removed, as it were, the main obstacles on the country's thorny path toward building the foundations of a democratic civic society. I say as it were, because it has already become clear at this point, 10 days or so after the "first among equals" took up his post, that **a qualitatively new political situation** is arising in Bulgaria. Despite the apparent calming of party passions, and the relative fall in the level of social tensions, the stage which we are now entering contains many more hidden unknowns than those which we have attempted to respond so far. This means that it will also be much more difficult for the main political forces to hold steady the helm of our national ship, beset with problems, amid the huge waves of the ocean of crisis. Moreover, in addition to the well-known "reefs" of the objective situation, the future of the ship's officers themselves, which is open to many questions, is now rising to the forefront.

The situation within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is particularly worrying. The decision finally adopted by the party leadership, after much ideological and political soul-searching, to support Zhelyu Zhelev's candidacy for the presidential post stirred up the bees in the party hive. The conflict on this issue within the Presidium transferred to the Supreme Party Council and the BSP parliamentary group, and spread from there by osmosis into all the remaining BSP structures, despite the dismantled functional links. In this way, **what had already become a permanent ideological and organizational crisis, engulfed the entire party and almost reached its critical apogee.** The point at issue this time is not the splitting off of one ideological tendency or another, nor a regrouping of forces within the socialist movement with the aim of giving a final form to the political profile of the BSP. No! The conflict is at all levels and affects all the present and potential future platforms within the party. I would not like to adopt the position of a gloomy soothsayer, but this conflict threatens to become the detonator of an explosion which has been building up for months, an explosion which is capable of finally shattering the entire party.

Especially alarming is the fact that, by supporting Zhelyu Zhelev's candidacy, **the BSP inner party crisis was transformed literally within hours into an unprecedented crisis of**

public confidence in the BSP. All the public opinion polls unequivocally indicate that, by choosing this solution, the leadership dealt a strong blow against the trust of the electorate outside the party. The scale of rejection ranges from emotional outbursts of indignation in connection with the frequently asked question, "Why should we then vote for the BSP?" to firm determination to support a different party in the future elections, such as the Fatherland Party of Labor, or simply not to vote at all. Thus, a rich social medium is developing around the thousands of Socialists who have recently demonstratively left the party, which is capable of subsequently nurturing a dangerous destabilization of the left in Bulgaria. I am referring to an organizational regrouping of the party into an unforeseeable number of small parties, warring among themselves and unable to develop a common position in defense of social democracy.

The destabilization of the BSP and its established position in society leads to the creation of risk factors which are difficult to foresee in connection with the whole of our public and national security. By adopting its parliamentary position in the presidential election, the party's leadership also dealt a blow to the stability of the opposition. The election of Zhelyu Zhelev, following the propaganda campaign for Dr. Dertliev, provided a new impetus to the centrifugal forces within the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the outcome of which is difficult to predict. Against the background of the forthcoming unification of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, these forces may push Bulgaria toward a lasting political and parliamentary crisis, a disastrous precursor for any democracy. Finally, the behavior of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] is associated with many unknowns. The explosive processes within the BSP and, on the other hand, the not unfounded suspicion of the BSDP leadership that it has been outplayed by its own partners, may cause the already full SDS cup of compromises to overflow. **If the Social Democrats leave the SDS, this will sharply disturb the political equilibrium to the advantage of those forces which advocate settling accounts with socialism, and for which parliamentary practice is hardly anything more than a continuation of the politics of the street by other means.**

Far be it from me to cast doubt on the new president's sincere intentions to promote the conflict-free development of the so-called "soft revolution" which he desires so much. At the same time, however, I do seriously doubt whether he is ready to sacrifice the future of his own "launch vehicle" in the name of a public security guaranteed by the present "status quo." I would go further: Whether he likes it or not, he is the child of a certain political situation, hence he is also its captive, and the interests of this situation, represented by the three letters SDS, require new elections. The indicators for these elections are being set out even now. They mark a road which passes through the agonizing attempts to form a new government; through a weak cabinet of experts, which is rent by contradictions and frees the opposition's hands to deal all kinds of punches below the belt; and through the local elections, which the SDS will win in all likelihood, thus creating a conflict situation of dual rule with the nationwide institutions. These are reason enough for any president to dissolve parliament, and call the elections in which the opposition hopes to achieve its long-awaited revenge!

The chief question which all Socialists are now asking themselves is: **"Why have we allowed ourselves to get into this situation?"** In my opinion, the answer to this is complex. **Part of the answer lies in the sick condition of the party, which was hinted at "in code" after 10 November 1989, and was subsequently confirmed by the 14th congress.** The symptoms, which are now apparent to everyone, are paralyzing the party's body, reducing its defensive reactions to agonizing convulsions which often have nothing in common with its desires.

The lack of a homogeneous party leadership, as regards its intended programs and aims, has left a clear stamp on this situation. This leadership, parts of which are weighed down by persistent cognitive and moral attitudes from the past, has failed to develop an overall political strategy for stabilizing the party and the country. Falling further and further behind the real course of events, the answers, hackneyed conceptions of the situation, and actions, not devoid of pragmatic egoism, of certain members of this leadership have logically and inevitably brought the BSP into the present situation.

We increasingly hear the view that the election of the president from the opposition's ranks was inevitable, given that the BSP sets the interests of the whole nation above its narrow party interests. Permit me to express doubt that this is a correct formulation of the question. Instead of giving an answer, I would pose these two counterquestions:

—What prevented the BSP from putting forward its views concerning a nonparty president at the very outset?

—Given that immediately following the confused situation arising from Petur Mladenov's resignation clear agreement was reached on the issue of a compromise division of powers with the opposition, why did the BSP not put forward such a proposal itself?

There is a logical sequence in both questions, which indicates the outlines of a strategy on this problem. By following this sequence at the very outset, the Socialists might not only have avoided playing the sorry role of an enchained Gulliver, but also have ensured far more favorable positions for themselves, both in the talks on the new government and in any early elections which may be called. However, let us not bury ourselves in the jungle of belated proposals. The only possible favorable way out for the BSP from the extremely unfavorable reality is for it now to direct its main attention and efforts toward itself. In order that we may endure, in order for us to exist at all, we must finally change ourselves. The time for face-lifting operations on the facade of the BSP is past. Now we need real, in depth actions.

The most urgent of these actions is for the BSP to finally define its own ideological and political profile. Ridding itself of the "perfected" ideological and social myths, it should direct its attention to the real problems of society. Only by opening itself up to different world views and approaches, by renouncing the assessment of Marxism as the culmination of all the achievements of human thought, can the party really turn itself into a modern socialist party. In this way, the BSP will also implement the desired transition from the monopoly of power to a leading political force which is open in nature, representing the interests of the left-of-center voters. This transformation undoubtedly demands the further development of inner party democracy and pluralism of viewpoints and approaches.

We are, of course, talking about a process, and not a mechanical one—a process of serious work with the lower-level party organizations, and the creation of conditions for new leaders to quickly emerge. These leaders must be individuals with proven professional and moral qualities, free of the burden of the past, and capable of conducting a political dialogue with all democratic parties and movements. They must not only be politically literate, but also possess that rare innate quality which Trotskiy called "intuition for action."

I am convinced that the future for the democratization of civic society in Bulgaria does not lie outside the BSP, but forms part of it, but at the same time I am a strong opponent of formal unity, of a partocracy intent on feathering its own nest. We must fight against the latter, and much more resolutely and effectively than we have done so far. The slogans must be supplemented by businesslike work in the party's basic organizational structures, by improvements in the standard of our organization, which is so necessary for the forces of renewal. We need a party which is essentially new, which has settled its accounts with the burden of messianic predestination, which has gathered together everything of value accumulated over its century-long path, and which seeks its place under the sun of the 21st century.

Food Rationing 'Coupons' Issued in Sofia

AU2408194590 Sofia MLADEZH in Bulgarian 23 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Daniela Feralieva and Stoyan Blagomirov report]

[Text] Today, a week after the decision of the Sofia City People's Council to introduce rationing for sugar and olive oil, which are in short supply, the municipalities will receive the necessary number of coupons. They have been produced by the Mint and Securities Economic Combine based on a design from the Interprint Service Company. Each coupon consists of six numbered tear-off sections, each of which serves for the purchase of a certain commodity. Each section has the word "Sofia" printed in white on a yellow background.

Elena Todorova, chief specialist in the Securities Control Department of the Mint and Securities Economic Combine, told us that 1.5 million coupons have been printed. They have been produced in the printing shop in accordance with all the requirements for security papers, and have passed financial control, which makes any misuse of them during the printing and distribution impossible. Every coupon is in a series and has its own unique number. In combination with the special paper used, this will ensure protection.

We contacted Stanyo Stanev, chief of the Organizational Management of the Sofia City People's Council, for news on how the preparations for issuing the coupons are proceeding in the municipalities. He told us the following:

"A few days ago the 'Sofinformatika' organization issued to the municipal leaderships lists of the residents in the relevant rayons, based on the citizens' identity numbers. An immediate start was made for checking these lists for errors. To these lists are being added the names of all citizens who have been left out, provided that they submit a passport with the appropriate registration, as well as the names of military servicemen, whose identity documents contain no computer identity number. The updated lists will be processed again in the computer center to remove the names of citizens registered in two or more localities. From now on, every municipal People's Council is setting up its own organization for issuing the coupons."

The Sofia City Committee for State and People's Control and the Chief Inspectorate for Trade and Services are responsible for monitoring the operation of the coupon rationing system when it begins on 1 September.

'Temporary' Electricity Cuts Introduced 20 Aug

AU2408143690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 90 p 1

[Veselka Marinova report]

[Text] As a result of the fact that 3,700 megawatts of generating capacity has not been utilized, on 20 August temporary restrictions were introduced for consumers. The power cuts will be implemented according to a schedule under which normal electricity supplies will be maintained for three-hour periods, followed by three-hour power cuts. Consumers will suffer power cuts throughout the day, but the greatest problems are expected in the morning and evening hours. Since 21 August, the reservoirs have also been "shut off" for crop watering, because the water reserves of almost all the hydroelectric power plants are exhausted. At present the largest reserves, namely 18 million cubic meters, are held by the Belmeken- Sestrimo facility, but even this amount is close to the "dead" volume of 5 million cubic meters, which cannot be utilized. This water represents the energy industry's last and only reserve in the event of a "super-emergency" situation.

The restrictions in electric power supplies are also necessary for other reasons. The 1,000-megawatt reactor at Kozloduy, which has been shut down for reloading and linking up to the newly constructed No. 6 generating unit, will not resume operation until the beginning of September. The maintenance program is also continuing at the thermoelectric power plants—eight generating units with a total capacity of more than 2,000 megawatts have been shut down. During the last few days, because of defects, one unit has been out of commission at Bobovdol and one at the Maritsa-East Power Plant, but one of these resumed production yesterday.

The situation is expected to return to normal within the next few days, but the energy system is operating without any standby capacity, and in the future this situation promises to become an everyday event rather than an exception.

Although we are now enjoying the heat of summer, we must be aware of the truth right now, namely that an extremely difficult winter awaits us.

Reporters Threaten Strike Over Newsprint Shortage

AU2408161690 Sofia MLADEZH in Bulgarian 23 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] Sofia, 22 Aug—BTA has received a statement from the Secretariat of the Bulgarian Journalists Union, which declares that for reasons officially unknown the warehouses of the Publishing Complex in Sofia contain stocks of newsprint which will not last for more than one month. At the same time, no official authority has issued any view or proposal on solving the problem. So far, no answer has been received either to the letter of appeal sent to the president of the Republic and the Grand National Assembly by a group of newspapers and periodicals and the Bulgarian Journalists Union.

This state of uncertainty obliges the leadership of the Bulgarian Journalists Union to protect the interests of its members by taking certain measures to elucidate the situation and prevent any possible information vacuum, which may continue for an indefinite period. Readiness was expressed to support the idea of a general strike by the press mass media, which in all likelihood will be supported by BTA, radio, and television. The possible appearance of strike breakers would serve as an indication of illegal and, in some cases, criminal acquisition of newsprint. Until the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the Council of Ministers, and the Presidency intervene, a strike is the only effective way to express our discontent, states the Secretariat of the Bulgarian Journalists Union.

Living Standard, Inflation Statistics Released

AU2508141290 Sofia BTA in English 1303 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Aug (BTA)—The index of the real income of the Bulgarians dropped by 2.4 per cent last year compared with 1988, although their monetary income went up by 770 million leva, the Central Statistical Department announced today.

Despite the constant growth of the wages, their relative share in the monetary incomes of the Bulgarians tends to decline. The relative share of incomes from individual labour activity and other additional sources is growing.

In the May-June period this year the average retail prices went up as follows: of clothes by 5.1 per cent; of furniture by 6.0 per cent; of culture and public life by 7.0 per cent; of hygiene and health care by 17.0 per cent; of housing, heating and lighting by 2.9 per cent; of taxation and fees by 21.9 per cent.

The rise in the cost of living, expressed through the total index of consumer prices calculated on the basis of world methodology, is 4.1 per cent in June compared to May this year. The rise in the cost of living in the towns is greater than in the villages. The relative share of food expenditure in the household budget in 1989 is rather high—38.1 per cent (in Belgium food expenditure accounts for 17.9 per cent, in Britain 13.9 per cent, in Denmark 16.7 per cent, in Italy 25.2 per cent). The expenses for food are highest in the capital and in the towns with populations of more than 50,000 people.

The relative share of the Bulgarians' expenses for cultural and public life is reduced.

The observations on the budget and the time of the Bulgarian show that most of the time the Bulgarians spend in front of their TV sets or chatting with friends and acquaintances. The least time they spend for self-improvement and improvement of their knowledge and qualification.

Record Low Birthrate, High Death Rate Reported

AU2408173190 Sofia BTA in English 1558 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—Last year Bulgaria's birth rate reached an all-time low, according to figures released by the Central Statistical Board today. At the end of 1989 this country had a population of 8,992,300.

The natural population growth was as low as 0.6 per 1,000. The general death rate has remained relatively high. The mortality of middle-aged men has increased considerably. On the whole, the sex structure has changed: Now there over 1,026 females to every 1,000 males. The population may grow if infant mortality declines.

Last year saw intensive inland migration. Nearly 150,000 people changed their place of residence. Most of them moved from rural to urban areas.

Between May 1989 and June 1990, about 318,000 Bulgarians were outside Bulgaria on tourist trips, visiting friends and relations, undergoing medical treatment or getting married abroad. Of them, about 210,000 went to neighbouring Turkey.

By the end of last year the national economy employed 4,011,000. Of them, 9.2 per cent were university degree holders and 46.2 per cent had finished primary school or had a lower educational level. The workers doing manual labour were 454,000 less, but they still account for 48.1 per cent of all workers.

Last year 23.9 per cent of those employed in the national economy worked in conditions substandard in terms of safety and occupational hygiene.

By June 30 this year, 22,437 Bulgarians, 62.9 per cent of them women, have registered as unemployed with the employment agencies. Announced vacancies number 45,681, and 93.3 per cent of them are for workers.

Lukanov Statement on Customs Duties, Profiteering

AU2408134090 Sofia BTA in English 1220 GMT 24 Aug 90

["Auto-da-Fe in the Centre of Sofia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—An old Mercedes burnt down like a torch in the centre of Sofia today. It was set on fire by the owners of Western motor cars who protested against the high customs duties they have got to pay.

About two hundred people crowded the space between the building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Bulgarian National Bank with their secondhand Audis, Volkswagens, Opels and cars of other makes brought here from the "morgues" in the FRG and they did not allow the fire brigade to intervene. "Let it burn, let it burn down to the ground," one of them shouted, while another one repeated excitedly, "what an effect, what an effect we produced."

As far as the effect is concerned, it may be somewhat unexpected for the protesters. Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov reacted in the Grand National Assembly just a few minutes after the incident, announcing the decision of the government to take all measures prescribed by the law for cutting such incidents short and for keeping public peace.

Mr. Lukanov admitted that Decree No. 59 issued by the Council of Ministers on the liberalization of motor cars import "forgot" the previous liberalization in the foreign currency regime and the removal of the ban prohibiting the sales of motor cars imported for personal use for a term of three years from the purchase date. These decisions unleashed profiteering in this field. The prime minister said that as a result a great part of the protesters have already accumulated a solid capital in the cycle, the links in which are: smuggling abroad foodstuffs and other goods which are in shortage in the home market—import and resale of old cars in return for Bulgarian leva—illegal export of goods from the agonizing Bulgarian market.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov announced that in the period following the liberalization of imports three thousand motor cars have been imported in the country and part of them were sold by securing astronomically high profits. He announced the intention of the government to amend the decree, thus making it impossible to black market old motor cars. At the same time the government intends to liberalize even more the conditions for the import of cars for the personal use of invalids and of cars with low fuel consumption or better ecological properties.

There are people who have already sold six or seven cars each, the prime minister said, and mentioned that the idea of the citizens' proving the legal origin of the hard currency they possess is worth discussing.

Government Debates Black Market Control Measures

AU2408192990 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today considered measures to combat black-marketeering and draft legislation and other acts against it.

According to the prevalent opinion, however, sanctions and other enforcement measures will not solve the problem. Only the progress of the economic reform can do that.

In view of the rife black market, though, the effective legislation and legal framework have to be revised. The government considered the following options: a passage of a prevention of black marketeering act, amending the Penal Code and the Administrative Offences and Punishments Act. In the coming days the government will submit these to the Grand National Assembly Legislative Committee.

A trade law has to be enacted as soon as possible, as the 1954 Domestic Trade Decree, which is still in force, is "ridiculous and pathetic" rather than effective.

An official from the Committee for Prices said that the perverse system of pricing provides a gold mine for black-marketeers. To stop the black market, prices have to be liberalized and the price reform has to be completed, and anti-monopoly legislation has to be enacted in the form of a protection of fair competition act.

An emphasis was laid on the need to improve the conditions for work of the customs authorities. Certain Vietnamese citizens were criticised for turning smuggling and black-marketeering into a way of life. The cabinet considered the idea of a strict enforcement of the provisions of the intergovernmental agreement under which any foreign national caught in wrongdoing is liable to deportation from Bulgaria with immediate effect.

Peace, Unity Movement Opposes 'Blue Dictatorship'

AU2408142390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] The chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary of the Nationwide Movement for Peace, Unity, and Legality have sent an appeal to Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Republic. The movement's leaders stress that now more than ever before, Bulgaria and the Bulgarians need civil peace, unity, order, and legality, and appeal to the president to cooperate with the government and the Grand National Assembly in incorporating those principles in the foundations of democracy.

The destruction and tension are growing and they cause hatred and malice, the document reads further. Those processes are escalating and you, the president of Bulgaria, are tolerating them and thus, excuse us for saying this, you contribute to the growth of evil.

In conclusion the leaders of the Nationwide Movement for Peace, Unity, and Legality point out that "the Bulgarian people gave their vote of confidence to a political force which, together with you, must act against the illegality and destruction. We appeal to this force and to you to assume direct responsibility and stop the destructive force of the blue dictatorship in order to establish civil peace, unity, and legality."

DPS M.P.'s Demand Probe of Mladenov Resignation

AU2408183790 Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—The parliamentary faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) [DPS] insists on a clarification of the circumstances surrounding the resignation of Mr. Petur Mladenov as president of the Republic, the faction spokesmen Mr. Yuliy Bakhnev and Mr. Yunal Lyutfiev confirmed to the BTA today.

"We have reason to raise this matter, and it is that no presidents should be brought down in future on grounds other than political ones," Mr. Yuliy Bakhnev said.

Mr. Yunal Lyutfiev confirmed the view of the faction he expressed at the Grand National Assembly sitting last night, that apart from the videotape filmed on December 14, 1989 and showing Mr. Petur Mladenov asking for tanks to be called in against demonstrators in front of parliament building, there were other political reasons for his resignation. He listed as possible reasons inner-party struggles within the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the pressure of the students' strike and public opinion. "Nothing is entirely clear around the resignation, that is why we want this inquiry," the spokesman said, expressing surprise at the objection of the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to the formation of a commission of inquiry into the matter. (Last night the opposition M.P.'s objected to the formation of a commission of inquiry to look into the matter and the SDS M.P.'s put forward as members of the panel declined the nominations.)

"By introducing this motion, we want to strengthen the positions of the presidential institution," Mr. Yunal Lyutfiev emphasized.

He specified that his movement supports the students' strikes and the Towns of Truth because they urge for the disclosure of truths about the country's socio-political life. Without denying the great role of public opinion, which it should keep playing in democratizing Bulgaria, the MRF spokesman said that the presidential institution should get parliamentary protection. It should not be vulnerable to arbitrary attacks from public actions, constitutionally guaranteed as they may be. The president is elected by parliament, and the M.P.'s are elected by the people, including people involved in students' strikes and Towns of Truth. They should have confidence in their M.P.'s, the MRF spokesman said.

SDS M.P. Against Postponing Local Elections

AU2508202590 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Aug (BTA)—Legally speaking the postponement of the elections for local authorities is absurd, the national representative of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], Ms. Snezhana Botusharova said in the Panorama television programme. As a jurist she objected against the view held by some of her colleagues that the elections for local authorities should take place in two years' time. In her opinion, which is shared by other jurists too, the office term of the present local authorities expires on August 28 this year.

A bill amending the People's Councils Law has been submitted to the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly on behalf of the president. The Bulgarian Parliament will consider the problem of their term of holding office.

Many local administrative leaders have given in their resignations out of their own free will or under public pressure. The present people's councils cannot perform their functions. They are either inactive or in some cases violate the law. The civil movements in many cities and towns are making protests against the actions of the people's councils, Ms. Botusharova said, backing her thesis that the elections should be held the soonest possible.

According to her on a regional level the party (the Bulgarian Socialist Party) [BSP] and the state powers are not separated. Ms. Snezhana Botusharova mentioned a statement made by the mayor of Sliven as an example. In reply to the demands for his resignation, he said, "Insisting on my resignation, you demand the resignation of the party" (i.e. of the BSP). He added that it was up to the BSP to decide whether to resign.

ASP Leader Appeals To Prosecute Former Leaders

AU2608174490 Sofia BTA in English 1642 GMT 26 Aug 90

["Appeal for Bringing the Culprits for National Catastrophe to Court of Citizens"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 26 Aug (BTA)—The leader of the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) made an appeal upon all members of the former Communist Party who occupied high ranking posts at the time of Todor Zhivkov's rule to resign, thus pleading guilty for the national catastrophe in Bulgaria.

The philosophy professor Nikolay Vasilev who chairs the ASP stated in an interview aired in the Every Sunday television program that the former members of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Andrey Lukanov now prime minister, General Dobri Dzhurov still minister of defense and a national representative, Stanko Todorov former prime minister and chairman of the National Assembly, now a national representative should "perform a moral act at least for once in their lives". Prof. Vasilev did not mention other names, but explained that his party addresses its appeal to all people who held senior responsible posts from the government and the ministries to the regional and municipal councils.

"We do not want any witch-hunting", Prof. Vasilev said. "Nor is it our wish to turn these people out, leaving them jobless. But let them show they have conscience and resign from the high ranking posts they still occupy."

He added that the "court of citizens" will pass a moral judgment only and does not rule out the possibility of initiating legal proceedings against some of the former and present economic and administrative leaders.

The ASP unites mainly former members of the Communist Party who left it after November 10, 1989.

Opposition Political Forces in Ruse To Cooperate

AU2608173690 Sofia BTA in English 1648 GMT 26 Aug 90

["Opposition Political Forces Close Ranks"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 26 Aug (BTA)—The municipal leaderships of three opposition political forces: the Union of Democratic Forces, the Alternative Socialist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party in the city of Ruse have signed an agreement on joint action in the preparation and the holding of the forthcoming elections for local authorities.

The agreement is open for all democratic opposition parties and movements. Enjoying equality and preserving their own organizational and structural specificity, the opposition political forces will jointly take part in the provisional structures of power, will launch a joint election campaign, will inform each other about their contacts with the bodies of state power and with other parties. They will work out a common election platform and will nominate their candidates for the elections through consensus.

Pollution From Giurgiu Plants Confirmed in Ruse

AU2408143590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] Ruse, 21 Aug (DUMA correspondent)—During the past 24 hours the air of this Danube city has again been systematically polluted with gaseous discharges from Romanian plants in Giurgiu. The special laboratory of the regional environmental protection inspectorate took measurements over a three-hour period at four points in the town. It was established that chlorine pollution was present, but in minimal amounts, considerably below the maximum permissible levels.

The graph of gaseous pollution with chlorine ions is more alarming. All four measuring stations in the town discovered amounts in excess of the permissible levels, ranging from 0.3 to 0.386 milligrams per cubic meter, while the maximum permissible level is 0.2 milligrams.

The station at the Gavril Genov plant recorded the highest atmospheric pollution, namely from 0.343 to 0.386 milligrams per cubic meter during the period from 2100 hours yesterday to 0300 hours this morning.

The specialists of the regional environmental protection inspectorate are quite certain that the pollutants come from the Giurgiu chemical plants, and a group of experts left for Giurgiu today to investigate the situation.

Prime Minister Lukanov Travels to Austria

AU2408183690 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—The prime minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov left for Vienna today to hold a working meeting with the Austrian chancellor, Dr. Franz Vranitzky.

The Bulgarian head of government told the BTA that the visit comes within the framework of the traditionally friendly contacts for the exchange of information and "to secure understanding and support for Bulgaria in its efforts to cope with the problems arising from the economic crisis."

Meets With Vranitzky in Vienna

AU2508172590 Sofia BTA in English 1648 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Vienna, August 25 (BTA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, who has been on a short visit to Austria, had a meeting with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

Mr. Lukanov informed the federal chancellor about the course of the processes in the country after the parliamentary elections and the difficulties Bulgaria faces in her economic development, the negative impact of Bulgaria's joining the sanctions imposed against Iraq included. In this situation, besides its own efforts for the democratization of social life and the transition to a market economy, the country needs serious international support, including Austria's support—a country which is one of the most important traditional partners of Bulgaria.

Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky underlined the interest and the sympathy with which Austria is following the advancement of the democratic processes in Bulgaria and his country's readiness to render assistance within the framework of the efforts of the other Western countries. Mr. Franz Vranitzky laid stress on the necessity of a concrete approach to the implementation of highly efficient projects and investments on the part of Austrian enterprises in Bulgaria, which would be guaranteed by the East-West fund set up by the government.

Some other matters related to the two countries' cooperation and Bulgaro-Austrian financial relations were discussed, too.

Extraparliamentary Assembly Critiqued; Loses Member

AU2408130890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Aug 90 p 2

[CTK report: "The Question Marks Surrounding the 'Assembly' Are Multiplying"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [17 August] the Assembly of Political Parties, Movements, and Associations issued a statement to CTK concerning the numerous queries about the ambiguities that have arisen in connection with the recently established so-called Extraparliamentary Assembly. A principle argument for the Extraparliamentary Assembly is the mere fact of electoral failure and the creation of an opposition at any price, while the assembly is open to everyone, including the political forces represented in parliament.

We believe, therefore, that this "assembly" will not enhance the Czechoslovak political system; this is borne out by the fact that nothing similar exists in developed democracies.

In view of the fact that Miroslav Sladek (Association for the Republic—Republican Party of Czechoslovakia) has been elected deputy chairman of the Extraparliamentary Assembly, the Entrepreneurial-Business Party has been forced to reconsider its participation in the assembly. The Entrepreneurial-Business Party refuses to become a spring board for this man's personal ambition and, therefore, it has decided to immediately withdraw from the Extraparliamentary Assembly.

Deputy Chairman on Crisis in Socialist Party

AU2408130790 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 16 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Milan Adam, acting deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, by Jana Schillingova; place and date not given: "Let us Stop Idle Disputes"]

[Excerpts] The situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] has become somewhat confused, to put it mildly. Various currents and directions are emerging which are not always exactly well disposed toward each other. We have published reports on the first expulsions from the party. One cannot say that this is a specific feature of this party. Differences of views and frictions can also be observed within other political movements, including Civic Forum. But let us stay with the CSS. I asked Professor M. Adam, doctor of sciences and the party's acting deputy chairman, about his opinion on the situation within the party.

[Adam] I get phone calls and letters every day from party members in various party organizations asking what is going on in the party leadership and where the party is heading. Many party members are dissatisfied with one current or another. The most militant of them prefer a radical solution: expulsions. Let me be honest. We wished to have a pluralistic society and we fought for it. We must, therefore, accept a certain plurality within the party as well. As a matter of fact, plurality of views exists also in various Western parties and it does not matter. I could cite the example of the French Socialist Party or the British Labor Party. The prerequisite is, of course, that everyone has the will to preserve the party and lead it to electoral success. After the party congress, the minority adapts itself to the majority, with both sides respecting the rules of decent behavior. All this is an expression of political maturity.

[Schillingova] It seems, however, that we are at loggerheads with it....

[Adam] Political maturity can be expected and demanded in countries where democracy set down roots decades ago. [passage omitted] It is not easy to behave freely, and we must work hard to learn such behavior.

[Schillingova] C. Cejka, member of the CSS Central Committee and deputy mayor of Prague, has been expelled from the party. This led the Presidium of the CSS City Committee in Prague to protest against this decision of the CSS Central Committee Presidium. It seems to me that expulsion is quite a serious step.

[Adam] The reason was that he had joined the Extraparliamentarian Assembly in the name of the CSS as a whole. He had not been authorized to do so and this course of action was in violation of party statutes. I believe, however, that no disputes should be settled by expulsions. When I look at the ideological programs of individual currents within our party, I see that no substantial differences exist between them. What exists are personal antipathies and aversions, which often obscure a person's sight and reason. Emotions should have no part to play in politics. I appeal, therefore, to all members of our party to put them aside as unnecessary ballast! They will do nothing to help the party but they might break it up. Let problems be discussed at joint meetings or at the congress. Instead of mutual recriminations, we should start helping one another. In all honesty, every current has its own bit of truth but also its own faults.

[Schillingova] After the last news conference by CSS representatives, some fellow journalists described your view of the problems as seen through rose-colored glasses. I, too, believe that the situation is more serious than you present it....

[Adam] It depends on one's point of view. [passage omitted] As I have already said, I personally believe that personal animosities are at the root of the problems.

[Schillingova] We have already mentioned that, in C. Cejka's case, the bone of contention was the Extraparliamentarian Assembly, which he is heading. What is your opinion on this extraparliamentarian body?

[Adam] It is self-evident that we must meet with other political forces. As far as I know, however, the political forces with which we want to cooperate did not accept participation in the assembly. I am thinking in particular of the Social Democrats and the Green Party. I have already met with representatives of these two parties and we came to an understanding. We have also established contact with the Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Slovakia. We want to consult and cooperate with parties and movements that are politically acceptable to us and which are politically significant. We want to be heard. I do not believe, however, that the Extraparliamentarian Assembly is the right platform for this. Is there any value in joining a group that has no practical meaning?

[Schillingova] Setting aside the problematic situation in the party—particularly in its organization in the capital—what do you consider to be of the greatest importance for the CSS at present?

[Adam] The communal elections, first of all. We must go into them enlightened by the mistakes that we committed in the June elections, although the communal elections will be quite different in nature. Local programs and local personalities will matter in them. We must form coalitions with all democratic parties and movements depending on the local situation. [passage omitted] Next comes the preparation of our congress in September where we should also resolve our internal problems. Finally, we also want to deliver our opinion on problems brought forth by the economic reform. [passage omitted] We are facing lot of work, which is why it is necessary to put an end to petty quarrels and start working.

CSFR, GDR Armies Terminate Cooperation

AU2408105590 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Aug 90 pp 1,3

[Report on interview with Lieutenant General Josef Vincenc, ground forces directorate chief and deputy minister of national defense, by "(mt)"-signed PRACE reporter; place and date not given: "There Is Not Much Time Left"]

[Text] [PRACE] *Last week, Rainer Eppelman, GDR minister of disarmament and defense, visited Prague. I read in the report on his visit that a list of problems will be drafted to be dealt with jointly by Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Therefore, I asked Lieutenant General JOSEF VINCENC [uppercase as published], who was a member of our Army's delegation at the meeting with the GDR representatives, about the problems existing in this sphere, and what, specifically, must be clarified.*

[Vincenc] It concerns problems resulting from the termination of the cooperation of the Czechoslovak Army with the GDR National People's Army in connection with the unification of Germany. An array of agreements exists between the two armies, and it is necessary to bilaterally assess how, and under what conditions, their effect can be terminated or, as the case may be, recommend which obligations could be assumed by the united Germany. Minister General Vacek and Minister Eppelmann agreed on establishing a joint commission of experts from both armies as well as from civilian enterprises dealing with the conversion, the task of which will be to specify these problems and draft proposals on how to deal with them. There is not much time left. The mission must be completed by 15 September, and the core of the commission's participation in dealing with the problems must be finished by 15 October.

[PRACE] At the conclusion of Minister Eppelmann's visit, General Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense, said that the unified Germany will not pose a threat to Europe. Will the Czechoslovak military doctrine change or will it be modified as a consequence to these considerations?

[Vincenc] There is no need for any changes in the Czechoslovak defense doctrine—which is presently being completed—as a consequence of the unification of Germany. This doctrine does not specify any concrete or potential enemy, nor a direction for the concentration of our defense. Our point of departure is the idea that, in case of danger, the entire territory of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic must be equally ready for defense; for this purpose we will gradually adjust the structural organization of the Army and the distribution of the troops throughout the territory.

[PRACE] Minister Vacek also stated that we wish to change the method of cooperation so as to keep balanced accounts. General, can you tell us what kind of changes will be introduced, and what accounts should be balanced?

[Vincenc] The relations between the Czechoslovak Army and the GDR National People's Army have always been based on a mutually advantageous cooperation, which includes cooperation in the development and production of weapons as well as in reciprocity. The matter in question is the settlement of the obligations if one of the parties is not able to fulfill them before the unification of Germany. Instead of financial remuneration, concrete compromises can be reached according to the character of the present agreements, contracts, and the accounts not settled. The establishment of precisely this will be the task of the joint commission of experts.

[PRACE] Were the unsolved economic problems between the two countries reflected in the dealing with Minister Eppelmann?

[Vincenc] It is understandable that they were, but not adversely. Our delegation noted with satisfaction that Minister Eppelmann expressed his personal discontent over the unfavorable impact on Czechoslovakia of the mutual trade as announced by Minister Slavomir Stracar on 6 August 1990. The German minister promised that he will ask the GDR premier to adopt such measures as to minimize the negative impact on the Czechoslovak economy. I would also like to emphasize that the meeting with Minister Eppelmann was marked by an absolute openness, mutual respect, propriety, and a bilateral effort to conclude the cooperation between both our armies with dignity.

Deputy Agriculture Minister on 'Acute' Problems

AU2408175690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with Miroslav Adamec, CSFR deputy agriculture minister, by an "(MM)"-signed reporter; place and date not given: "It Is Impossible To Procrastinate With Reform"]

[Text] Prague—As we reported in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY on Thursday [16 August], talks were held on various levels in Prague on Wednesday about acute agricultural problems. Therefore, we asked Miroslav Adamec, CSFR deputy agriculture minister, to briefly characterize the course of the working meeting with Premier Marian Calfa; Vaclav Vales, federal deputy premier; Vaclav Klaus, federal finance minister; both republics' agriculture ministers; and representatives from the Farmers' Cooperative Unions.

[Adamec] The public will be informed in detail about the results of the talks in a comprehensive report. We will present fundamental material to the federal government before 24 August; it will be drafted in cooperation with the other appropriate ministries and the Farmers' Cooperative Unions. It will contain an analysis of the current situation in cattle breeding and of ways of dealing with it, the allocation of grain from central funds, and the implementation of long-term controlled reduction programs. The complicated transfer to a market economy does not exclude the possibility of certain shocks and, of course, agricultural workers must be aware of their own situation. The principles of reform in the agriculture and food complex, therefore, should be known by 15 September.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] What specific measures are being taken concerning beef?

[Adamec] Currently we have in excess of 60,000-70,000 tonnes of beef. We will export approximately 20,000 tonnes of this with the proviso that the losses are defrayed partly from the state budget and partly by the departmental ministries. The sum involved is approximately 360 million korunas. We will freeze roughly 15,000 tonnes, which will cost about 30 million korunas. We will utilize another 10,000 tonnes in bartering—for agricultural chemicals and fodder components. We will do something else with what remains.

As far as grain allocations are concerned, agricultural workers will probably be able to buy grain at the purchase price—that is, at the realization price—with a surcharge for storage.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] Polychlorinated biphenyls [PCB's] are often mentioned in connection with cattle breeding.

[Adamec] This matter was also on the agenda. We will also include it in our materials. We concurred with the view expressed by Bohumil Kubat, Czech Republic agriculture minister, that along with the long-term program for reducing the number of cattle by 14-16 percent, it is also necessary to deal with the PCB problem. This is often done by destroying contaminated breeds. Of course, the overall measures will require a great deal of resources; this represents approximately 900 million korunas for the CSFR. It is necessary to compensate agricultural workers for this sum. For instance, removing harmful coatings from one silage tower alone will cost 100,000 korunas.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] Do you agree with some views that the federal government somewhat underestimated the situation in agriculture?

[Adamec] Absolutely not; on the contrary. I think Premier Calfa evaluated development extremely correctly and got involved in it at a time that was slightly tense, but right. Personally, I feel good about the fact that representatives of the farmers' cooperatives also understood the premier. We are all embarking on something new together, therefore, we have to proceed systematically without unnecessary passions and emotions.

VPN, CPSL Meet on Language Issue

AU2408142990 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 17 Aug 90 p 2

[Statement issued by the Public Against Violence movement Coordinating Committee press secretary: "How To Approach the Language Law"]

[Text] Representatives of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement and the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] met on 13 August 1990. The principal issue was the language law. Both sides expressed their desire to approach this problem matter-of-factly and responsibly, while being aware of the domestic, as well as the international, context. In a discussion, the VPN and the CPSL representatives exchanged opinions about the current draft law on elections to local self-administrations. They expressed their intention to adopt the same standpoints regarding the issues of the constitutional arrangement as they did in their election programs.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

***Notice to Readers:** In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

GDR Rejects Iraqi Embassy Ultimatum in Kuwait

LD2408141690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1332 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government is maintaining its embassy in Kuwait, citing UN Security Council Resolution 664. Iraq's ambassador in Berlin has been informed that the ultimatum to close the embassy on 24 August has been rejected as a matter of principle. This emerges from a press statement issued by the GDR Foreign Ministry today.

The GDR ambassador in Kuwait, the statement continues, has been instructed to make use of every possibility open to him to give support to German citizens present in GDR facilities.

GDR Reportedly Updating 10 Iraqi MiG's

LD2508153190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1509 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—Ten Iraqi MiG-21 fighter aircraft are being repaired and technically updated in the GDR at the Dresden aircraft repair yard, according to reports in the WELT AM SONNTAG newspaper. It is said that they will be ready for deployment within the next few days and will then be returned to Iraq.

The paper's article, prereleased to ADN, also says that GDR Defence Minister Rainer Eppelmann is "responsible for this occurrence," and Bonn is trying to prevent the aircraft being handed over.

Delivery of Aircraft 'Ruled Out'

LD2508173190 Hamburg DPA in German 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—A GDR Defense Ministry spokesman has confirmed that 10 Iraqi planes are being serviced at an aircraft construction facility in Dresden. At the same time he "absolutely" ruled out the possibility of them being delivered to Iraq. The repairs will probably not be completed until 1992. Furthermore, the planes could not leave the country without export approval. The spokesman also rejected any responsibility on the part of Defense Minister Eppelmann: The aircaft facility is subordinate to the Economics Ministry.

Defense Ministry Spokesman on Aircraft

LD2508203390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1951 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Ministry of Defense has confirmed that 10 Iraqi MiG-21 fighter aircraft are in the aircraft repair yard in Dresden. A ministry spokesman stated today that the repair contract for the military aircraft was "cancelled a week ago." This was learned from the Ministry for Economic Affairs, "the ministry responsible for this contract."

Rainer Eppelmann, the minister of disarmament and defense, had it announced further that the aircraft would not be returned to Iraq. The repair contract, which provides for general servicing, was to have been implemented in the next two years. [passage omitted]

Soviets Begin Troop Withdrawal From Neuruppin

AU2408124090 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 22 Aug 90 p 1

["KDE"-signed report: "Soviets Are Leaving Neuruppin Today"]

[Text] Potsdam—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Neuruppin is beginning today. According to information obtained by DER MORGEN from the district administration authority, the first goods train loaded with tanks will leave for Moscow at 0800. The troops will follow beginning in October. About 50,000 Soviet soldiers are believed to be in and around Neuruppin. All men and officers are supposed to have left Neuruppin by early 1991. Nobody knows, however, who will provide the money for the transport.

Soviet SDAG Member on Uranium Co. Withdrawal

AU2608160990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 18 Aug 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Valentin Pavlovich Nazarkin, Soviet-German Joint Stock Company board member, by unidentified NEUE ZEIT reporter; place and date not given: "A Stockholder Quits—Exclusive Interview With a Board Member"]

[Text] For the first time in the history of the Wismut [uranium] company, a Soviet board member of the SDAG [Sowjetisch-Deutsche Aktiengesellschaft—Soviet-German Joint Stock Company] has given a news conference. First Deputy Director General Valentin Pavlovich Nazarkin talked with NEUE ZEIT on the company's problems.

[NEUE ZEIT] Why is the USSR withdrawing from the company after 44 years?

[Nazarkin] Our government said last year that it does not need uranium from the GDR anymore. The Wismut company works on the basis of an agreement concluded on 7 December 1962, which is effective until 2000. For every five-year plan, a government report was prepared on the tasks, financing, subsidies, supplies, and prices; the last report was prepared in January 1986. The agreement will expire on 31 December 1990 and will not be renewed. The developments in the disarmament and nuclear energy sectors have reduced our uranium requirements.

[NEUE ZEIT] Are the costs too high for the USSR?

[Nazarkin] Since 1980, the production costs have been higher than the world market prices. Our two countries shared the profits and losses. On the world market, one kilogram of uranium costs between 35 and 70 Deutsche marks [DM]. We are not even close to being able to compete in this respect. Production in the Wismut company is too expensive, and the metal content in the mineral is too low.

[NEUE ZEIT] The uranium in the Erz Mountains was the only known resource worth extracting for the USSR after the war. What benefit did your country receive?

[Nazarkin] In the postwar years, we had the political task of breaking the U.S. nuclear monopoly. At that time, uranium was extremely precious. Every expense was, therefore, accepted. I am an old Wismut worker. I started here in 1951 as an underground worker in Annaberg and Johanngeorgenstadt. The resources are spent. The only resources left are in Drosen, and they will last until after 2000.

[NEUE ZEIT] Can a stockholder resign from a business just like that? What will happen to the capital and the basic assets?

[Nazarkin] At first, we will withdraw from the agreement on uranium production. The basic assets that belong to the Wismut will be given to the GDR Government free of charge. When uranium production has been closed down, the Wismut company will still have its second function of machine building and engineering.

[NEUE ZEIT] The radiation caused by Wismut is undoubtedly harmful to the people. Will the USSR help us improve the situation?

[Nazarkin] Radiation is an issue, but not for horror stories. Of course, we must act quickly. According to the latest estimates, the costs will be DM5.4 billion. Whether the Soviet Union will take part will have to be decided at government level.

Hong Kong Chinese Seek Citizenship for Loans

AU2608170390 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 18-19 Aug 90 pp 1,2

[Ulrich Deupmann report: "Hong Kong Industrialists Are To Become GDR Citizens"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin, 17 August—The GDR Government wants to grant GDR citizenship to 52 leading personalities from industry and finance of the British Crown colony of Hong Kong. In return, the Hong Kong industrialists promise the GDR "long-term investment loans with bank securities." The sum involved is 15 billion Deutsche marks. Further applications for citizenship are expected. Several well-informed sources confirmed these facts to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. The GDR has made this decision because otherwise other states would have received the money.

The billions are to remain exclusively in the future GDR laender. The circles questioned were not able to say whether the action has been coordinated with Bonn. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG has obtained the cabinet motion presented by Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel.

In the substantiation of the motion, it is said: "Authorized representatives of a group of citizens of the Hong Kong city state from leading circles of industry, trade, and the banks, are willing to immediately grant long-term, 25-year investment loans to the GDR territory, and to provide the necessary bank securities. They link this readiness with the request to be granted GDR citizenship for humanitarian reasons." The Hong Kong citizens hope for a "secure life in democracy and freedom," when Hong Kong, the capitalist island in communist China, goes over to Beijing at the expiration of the Crown colony treaty at the end of the 1990's. "These citizens do not intend to live on GDR territory within the next few years." Interior Minister Diestel recommended that the cabinet approve the matter "for humanitarian reasons, and in the interest of quickly improving and stimulating the economy." Particularly for small- and medium-sized enterprises, "immediate readiness for investments is irrevocable." The basis for the decision was the law on GDR citizenship in its 1990 version. According to this law, the Council of Ministers decides on granting citizenship.

Almuth Berger, the prime minister's representative for matters concerning foreigners, harshly objected to this decision in the cabinet. As stated, it seems simply impossible to her to turn Hong Kong Chinese into GDR citizens in return for a lot of money, while poor refugees from other states are being sent back.

In the cabinet, Mrs. Berger reportedly referred in particular to the problem of the Vietnamese in the GDR. The Vietnamese had come as workers to the GDR as a result of contracts between the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] regime and this Asian country. In view of the rising unemployment, they are no longer needed and are subjected to hostility toward foreigners in the GDR. None of them would understand if they now had to leave the GDR while rich Hong Kong citizens receive GDR citizenship, Mrs. Berger reportedly said. The cabinet has now decided not to send Vietnamese who want to stay in the GDR back to their home country. [passage omitted]

GDR Citizenship Approved

AU2608172390 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 21 Aug 90 p 1

["deu"-signed report: "Chinese Will Receive Citizenship"]

[Text] East Berlin—The GDR Government has now officially stated that it will grant citizenship to prosperous Hong Kong Chinese. Thus, on Monday [20 August], government spokesman Matthias Gehler confirmed the report of SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG over the weekend [18-19 August], but he did not want to comment on details. According to the cabinet motion, which SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG has obtained, the matter involves 52 persons. These "leading representatives of industry, trade, and banks" have promised to make investments worth 15 billion Deutsche marks in the GDR in return for citizenship. For this they hope to get a "secure life in democracy and freedom," when the crown colony is united with the PRC in 1997. On Monday, Gehler told SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that the cabinet has not received any specific promises concerning these sums. Thus, it is unclear in which branches and in what areas the investments will be made.

Gehler said that the action was "probably" coordinated with the FRG and is "promising." Whether he meant that additional people will be granted citizenship, Gehler did not want to say. Another participant in the cabinet meeting denied to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that the decision is a test for granting more people citizenship.

Asked about further details, Gehler refused to answer. Obviously, the government is trying to play down the importance of this decision. This is also indicated by the fact that Gehler did not want to confirm the number of 52 persons, even though he had participated in the cabinet meeting, and the number must have been cited in the basis of the cabinet motion. Gehler asked that this decision be understood as a humanitarian gesture. He does not like the term "entrance fee." As the reason why Hong Kong Chinese are permitted to enter the GDR while Romanians are often turned back at the border, the government spokesman cited the lack of accommodations for refugees in the GDR.

The spokesman for the GDR Interior Ministry, which worked out the cabinet motion, told SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG on Monday that he does not know anything about the matter. He assumes "that the decision has been intentionally kept quiet." Interior Minister Diestel was in the FRG on Monday.

NVA Allegedly Researched Chemical Weapons

LD2508102990 Hamburg DPA in German 0743 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to the Hamburg-based news magazine DER SPIEGEL's information, the NVA [National People's Army] did research into chemical weapons despite its protestations to the contrary. Quoting a long-time scientific adviser on chemical disarmament in the GDR, Karlheinz Lohs, the magazine reports in its latest edition that there have been experiments in five top security laboratories at the former Military-Technical Institute in Koenigs Wusterhausen (Brandenburg) south of Berlin with materials such as mustard gas, srin, tabun, and VX. The GDR for decades denied at conferences the "development and production" of chemical weapons.

Lohs, head of the Leipzig Research Institute for Chemical Toxicology, stated in the interview that the laboratories, kept secret until now, have been completely out of proportion for a country as small as the GDR. The "true extent" of research in this sector is unknown to him. Long as they were equipped with Soviet anti-ABC [atomic, biological, chemical] equipment there was no reason for independent research into poison gas in the GDR.

Stasi Committee Chariman Brinksmeier Resigns

LD2308175990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1612 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the People's Chamber Committee for Examing Deputies for Stasi Activities, Dankwart Brinksmeier of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), has resigned from his post, the Social Democrat press office announced today. As the SPD has to provide the chairman, the party's parliamentary group will decide on a successor. Deputies Rolf Schwanitz and Gunter Weissgerber are being considered for the post.

Schwanitz Assumes Chairmanship

LD2508015690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1512 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—People's Chamber Deputy Rolf Schwanitz (SPD) [Social Democratic Party] has succeeded Dankwart Brinksmeier as chairman of the committee to examine People's Chamber deputies for Stasi activities. The Social Democrat Press Office announced today that the SPD parliamentary group had had to decide between Richard Schroeder, Gunter Weissgerber, and Rolf Schwanitz.

Government Said Obstructing Stasi Investigations

AU2508145190 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 22 Aug 90 p 2

["VF"-signed report: "Brinksmeier: There Is No Stasi List"]

[Text] Berlin—Dankward Brinksmeier discussed with DER MORGEN the suspicion that 68 People's Chamber deputies were Stasi [State Security Service] informers. The chairman of the parliamentary committee investigating People's Chamber deputies refused to confirm or deny a relevant report published by SFB [SENDER

FREIES BERLIN]. He said that there is no complete list containing precise information about the activities of parliamentarians for the Ministry of State Security.

Brinksmeier pointed out the interior minister's hesitation in cooperating in clarifying the involvement of the Stasi in many areas. He said that the interior minister is constantly hiding behind "reservations for legal reasons." Brinksmeier added that the government also "puts obstacles in our way wherever possible." Brinksmeier said that the last possible alternative is going public. He said he thinks it is a mistake that the members of his committee do not yet want to pursue this line. Brinksmeier added that the People's Chamber's reputation is being seriously harmed.

Diestel Views Stasi, RAF, Increased Crime

AU2708065890 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 22 Aug 90 p 2

["BZ"-Bettina Urbanski report: "Documentation on Stasi To Be Compiled"]

[Text] Berlin—Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel, deputy prime minister and interior minister, started his preliminary election campaign yesterday.

At a news conference, he presented himself as the candidate of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] for the office of minister president in the Land of Brandenburg and he emphatically stressed his position that FRG authority must not replace everything here.

As the man in charge of the dissolution of the State Security Service [Stasi] and a hunter of terrorists, he presented some information. For example, a document which deals with the historical and political background of the work of the former Ministry for State Security is currently being compiled. It is to comprise three to four volumes; the first, which has approximately 500 pages, has already been completed, he said. Diestel said that the sluggish handing over of the former Stasi property is due to the Council of Minister's delay in creating legal regulations for the change of ownership, which has only been possible on a legal basis since 20 July. Moreover, the scope for decisions on individual objects is very limited since the unification treaty provides for the FRG's right of codetermination.

The interior minister rejected newspaper reports on possible executions by the Stasi by saying that so far there has not been any relevant information. Diestel confirmed, however, the assumption that some terrorists of the Red Army Faction had prepared their attacks in the GDR. The interrogations of the suspected terrorists who were arrested here also produced important leads that are essential in the struggle against the second and third generations of terrorists.

The interior minister said that the increased crime rate in the GDR in the first six months of the year is alarming, especially regarding threats of force, murder, robbery, blackmail, and arson. In these areas the number of criminal offenses has doubled compared to the same period last year.

Former Stasi Members Said Building Contacts

LD2508085190 Hamburg DPA in German 0758 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Hamburg, (DPA)—According to information from the Hamburg-based news magazine DER SPIEGEL, former employees of the GDR State Security Service are building up fresh contacts underground, possibly in order to take revenge on politicians or to regain power by placing confidants in the economy for the civil service. Quoting former Stasi officers and members of the Committee for the Disbandment of the Stasi , SPIEGEL reports in its latest issue that members of the Stasi hold conspiratorial meetings in safe houses, which have not yet been discovered.

The news magazine quotes former employees who report that their former colleagues have obtained arms. FDP [Free Democratic Party] executive member Rosemarie Fuchs, who is a member of the Committee for the Disbandment of the Stasi in the Frankfurt/Oder Area (Bezirk), stated that there were Stasis "who under certain circumstances" were prepared to strike.

The magazine also carries reports by former Stasi officers, according to which the Soviet secret service, the KGB, is attempting to recruit former Stasi informants in both parts of Germany for its own purposes. According to SPIEGEL's research, the KGB has the Stasi's list of agents and card files on employees. The people listed there have for the most part not been unmasked yet. For this reason, there was the danger that those concerned could now be blackmailed by the KGB, SPIEGEL quotes a former Stasi officer.

The article was prereleased to DPA.

Suspect in 'La Belle' Case Released Again

AU2408144790 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Aug 90 p 4

["Rt."-signed report: "Suspect Released Again in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin—Ali Mansur, a 32-year-old Lebanese who was arrested in connection with the bomb attack on the Berlin discotheque "La Belle," has been released again. On Wednesday [22 August] the examining magistrate at the Tiergarten Court rescinded the arrest warrant against him at the request of the public prosecutors. Mansur, who is a German citizen, was arrested 25 July on suspicion of murder. He is said to have been involved in the organization of the crime. Three people were killed and more than 200 were injured, some of them seriously, by the attack in early April 1986.

The Berlin Administration of Justice reported that the man was strongly suspected of having committed the crime because of information from a resettler, a former executive of the GDR State Security Service [Stasi]. His information alone, however, does not suffice to further substantiate the suspicion, it was stated. He only reported what he had been told by a third party. According to the Code of Criminal Procedure, a witness presenting hearsay evidence is not enough to convict a defendant in a trial. Persons mentioned by the witness, who might have incriminated Mansur, were not found. The documents that were found in Mansur's apartment also did not contain incriminating evidence, it was stated.

The Administration of Justice did not want to rule out that an examination of all documents that have been compiled on the case by the Ministry for State Security might have resulted in a different evaluation of the situation. The present evidence is not enough, however, to justify his further imprisonment. The arrest warrants against five other fugitives, which were also issued by the examining magistrate of the Tiergarten Court in July, are still valid.

Meanwhile, the GDR authorities have rejected the criticism of Internal Affairs Senator Paetzold [Social Democratic Party of Germany] that they are obstructing the investigation of the attack. According to information from the Interior Minstry, a joint working group of the West and East Berlin police has been examining files on this case since May. Except for the evidence handed over in August, the West Berlin authorities did not officially request any other files. "These clear facts show that the Central Criminal Investigations Office and Interior Minister Diestel have always been interested in using all legal ways to help clear up this criminal attack."

Referring to the role of the GDR interior minister in the investigations on the "La Belle" case, Paetzold wrote that Diestel has to accept being asked "whether he is willing to do everything to clear up crimes in which former leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany or Stasi members might be involved, or whether he will continue to permit old comrades and Stasi groups to work in his ministry as they like."

Singelnstein Appointed New Radio Director

LD2408092590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0814 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christoph Singelnstein has been appointed director of GDR Radio by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere. A proposal to this effect had been made by the Ministry for Media Policy, a ministry press release says.

Lothar de Maiziere had accepted the offers to resign submitted some time ago by the acting director general of GDR Radio, Manfred Klein, and his deputies, Dr. Wernfried Maltusch and Klaus Schmautz, and released them from their functions, the statement says.

Singelnstein was recently appointed by Manfred Klein as one of his deputies. The title "director general" will cease to exist.

Official Updates Kuwait Embassy Situation

LD2508175590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Interview with Foreign Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman by unidentified Budapest TV reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Hermann] Our embassy is continuing to function. The charge d'affaires ad interim, his wife, and an administrative staff member are presently in the Hungarian diplomatic mission. There is a military cordon outside the Hungarian Embassy in Kuwait, just as there are outside numerous other embassies sited in Kuwait.

[Reporter] Are the Hungarian diplomats safe?

[Hermann] What I would like to stress is that the right of diplomatic immunity is a right that has become rooted in international custom over the centuries, and we consider that it would be an extremely rude violation of diplomatic custom and international law if any harm befalls the diplomatic staff. In connection with this, I would like to remind you that yesterday we summoned the Iraqi ambassador to the Foreign Ministry, and in an appropriate form we decisively expressed our opinion that if any harm were to come to the Hungarian diplomatic personnel in Kuwait, or if harm were to come to the Hungarian assets in Kuwait, the Iraqi side would bear full responsibility.

Further on Developments

LD2508215990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Interview with Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman by unidentified Budapest Radio announcer; place and date not given]

[Text] [Announcer] As you have heard, Iraqi soldiers have surrounded the embassies in Kuwait. What is the situation with the Hungarians? Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman is on the line:

[Herman] Through indirect but reliable channels we continue to maintain contact with our embassy in Kuwait. According to our latest information, the embassy is continuing to function. The charge d'affaires ad interim, his wife, and an administrative staff member are in the embassy building.

[Announcer] What is meant in this case by continuing to function? Are the diplomats working, in effect?

[Herman] Yes, although one has to add, naturally, that in this situation the conditions of embassy work have become more difficult. At the present moment they are not threatened by any immediate danger. The soldiers deployed there by the Iraqi authorities are obstructing movement in the sense that they are not letting anybody out of the embassy and are not letting anybody in.

[Announcer] If I understand correctly, this means at the same time that Hungary, as with nearly 60 other states, does not for the time being wish to close its representation in Kuwait?

[Herman] It does mean that. At the same time, naturally, we must also take cognizance of the fact that as a result of the compulsory Iraqi measures, the embassy is less and less able to perform its functions.

[Announcer] Could this occasion the closure of the mission, regardless, naturally, of whether or not Iraq will resort to force?

[Herman] This is not topical at the present moment, because in so far as we might be pondering such a step, at present it is simply not possible for our diplomats to leave the embassy.

[Announcer] To my knowledge the Hungarian missions abroad cannot maintain direct links among themselves. In the present case, can the Baghdad embassy do anything for those in the Kuwaiti one?

[Herman] If the question means how far the Baghdad embassy can make direct contact with our Kuwait embassy, then to this I can only say no, it can not.

Embassy 'Temporarily' Shut Down

LD2708092490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The Foreign Ministry is temporarily suspending the activity of the Hungarian Embassy in Kuwait. The government statement on this emphasizes that the measures of the Iraqi forces occupying Kuwait has rendered the operation of the embassy impossible and endangered the safety of its staff. For this reason, the staff of the Hungarian mission was compeled yesterday to leave the building.

In connection with the measure, the Foreign Ministry emphasizes that all this does not change the earlier-formulated Hungarian position, that our country profoundly condemns the Iraqi aggression, and considers the unilateral Iraqi decision on the annexation of Kuwait to be null and void. The government statement says that Hungary invariably accredits its ambassador to Kuwait's ruler. The government holds Iraq responsible for the damage to the buildings and material possesions of the Hungarian foreign representation, the statement says.

Official Explains Suspension

LD2708113290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Interview with Denes Tomaj, deputy state secretary for foreign affairs, by foreign political editor Miklos Lengyel; place and time not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lengyel] On the basis of a decision by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, the Hungarian Embassy in Kuwait will in the future suspend its activity. Why did the Hungarian Foreign Ministry make this decision in light of the earlier Hungarian Government position which appears to diverge from this?

[Tomaj] The position of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry has not basically changed in the past days, and the Hungarian Government invariably rejects the unilateral Iraqi decision aimed at winding up the diplomatic representation permanently functioning in Kuwait. At the same time, however, the Iraqi occupying forces carried out measures of coercion, amounting primarily to stopping public utilities, closing off the embassy from the outside world by military force which endangered the safety of the embassy's staff and made it impossible for the embassy to function. In this situation, the mission's staff were compeled to leave the embassy building. This is the explanation. It is not the position which has changed, but the circumstances have changed in such a way that the operation of the embassy could not be maintained.

All this, naturally, does not mean that Hungary's position might have changed in relations with the State of Kuwait. The Republic of Hungary invariably considers the accredition of its ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the ruler of the State of Kuwait to be valid, and at the same time we also demand that the Government of the Republic of Iraq guarantee the inviolability of our diplomatic representation and non-disruption in conditions for operation.

[Lengyel] What is happening now with the diplomats? Where are they?

[Tomaj] They are en route to Baghdad.

[Lengyel] And is their safety fully guaranteed?

[Tomaj] Well, we presume so, because, on our part, we regard their immunity to be valid, and to our knowledge no harm has befallen the diplomats of any country, some of whom have left the embassies in Kuwait.

Official on CSFR Relations, Council of Europe

LD2508192790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0500 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our guest here in the studio is Foreign Affairs Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman, who is receiving questions not only from listeners and from us, but from our foreign correspondents, too. Evelyn Forro from Prague:

[Forro] Will Geza Jeszenszky react at the foreign ministerial talks in Prague next week to the statement made by Slovak Premier Meciar, in which he said that fascist features may be found in the views of the Slovak National Party in the same way as in the opinions of Miklos Duray?

My second question is: Incredible stories about the appointments of ambassadors and other diplomatic jobs are making the rounds. It is being said that somebody has already packed to travel to X country and had only gone to the Foreign Affairs Ministry to say goodbye. There he was told not to go anywhere, that he would be informed. Then he went, for example, to Stuttgart instead of Bratislava. What is the cause of this panicking, this uncertainty and, speaking about Prague concretely, why did the Hungarian colony here [in the CSFR] have to learn the name of the new ambassador from Hungarian Radio and MAI NAP [daily Hungarian newspaper]?

[Hermann] I am sure that at next week's foreign ministerial talks the most important bilateral issues will be raised and among these, naturally, the questions related to nationalities occupy an impotant place—all those questions in general which at the moment disturb our relations. [passage omitted]

Regarding the second question, I would not qualify this as panicking. Undoubtedly, a great task has burdened the ministry in past months in respect of the replacement of ambassadors. As a matter of fact, within a short time, a large number of ambassadors and diplomats have been changed and what is more, it took place in the framework of a series of decisions and a change to one post brings a chain reaction in other posts. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Miklos Keleti from Paris.

[Keleti] A few months ago it seemed that Hungary could smoothly—and first among the former communist countries—become a member of the Council of Europe. Now, however, at least looking from Paris, it appears that the admission procedure is stumbling. Is that the case and, if so, what is the cause?

[Hermann] I can state with assurance that looking at it from Budapest the picture is not like that. It appears that Hungary's entrance to the Council of Europe is advancing and that it is shaping up in accordance with the already signaled concepts—that is, it will take place this year.

Certain information has arrived which gave rise to the idea in certain circles that Hungary's entrance should take place together with other countries—that is, that Hungary should wait until its admission is affected in a group. I, for myself, say that this has no real weight really. Hungary has fulfilled the conditions needed for entrance, and we have every reason to hope that Hungary's admission will take place this year.

[Announcer] Thank you for having come to the studio.

Jeszenszky Discusses Relations With Romania

AU2408123590 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 16 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified Radio Free Europe reporter on 8 August;

place not given: "We Are Ready To Create Good-Neighborly Relations—Geza Jeszenszky on Romanian-Hungarian Relations"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky gave an interview to Radio Free Europe on 8 August. The spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Ministry sharply attacked the contents of this interview. We publish here a slightly shortened version of this interview.

[Reporter] What are the prospects of a rapid improvement in Romanian-Hungarian relations?

[Jeszenszky] We must be optimistic, because we will be able to do nothing if we lose our hope for the future. Unfortunately, I must admit that the steps taken by the current Romanian Government do not justify very much hope. When a Romanian Foreign Ministry state secretary visited Budapest in July, we again clearly pointed out that Hungary and the entire Hungarian society are ready for exemplary, good-neighborly, and even friendly relations with Romania. Everything depends on the readiness of the Romanian Government to recognize Romania as a multinational state with a considerable number of Hungarians and other national minorities living there, and that these national minorities have fundamental and legitimate demands which must be fulfilled. Every enlightened European state fulfills these demands, and Romania should do the same.

Unfortunately, the signs are not very encouraging. Although the Romanians are ready to slightly improve the situation, they refrain from satisfying demands which are the result of valid international agreements—for exmple, the reopening of the Hungarian Consulate in Kolozsvar [Cluj]. Bucharest claims that the agreements signed during the previous dictatorships should be regarded as null and void. This is a strange argument, but the Romanians made use of it. I would have never imagined that I would one day have to defend former Communist Party General Secretary Karoly Grosz, but this is the situation today. The Romanians drew a parallel between the former Hungarian Government and the Ceausescu regime, saying that one was as bad as the other. I must say that this is a very unjust formulation concerning the previous Hungarian Government. Moreover, one cannot even compare Karoly Grosz and the Hungarian dictatorship of the last 20 years with the Romanian dictatorship.

In my opinion, it is also a very bad sign that Romania does not recognize the need to guarantee public education facilities for the Hungarians in Transylvania, particularly concerning the renewed independent operation of the Bolyai University in Cluj. We are witnessing a threatening attitude on the part of extremist groups in Romania. These groups show a wild hatred of Hungarians. If Romania does not distance itself from these manifestations, I do not see much hope in improving our bilateral relations.

[Reporter] Mr. Jeszenszky, in your opinion, does the Romanian Government intend to assimilate the Hungarian minority?

[Jeszenszky] It is partially attempting to do that. Or perhaps their goal is to expel the Hungarians. They cannot do this with 2 million Hungarians, but they can create a situation which will force the Hungarians to leave their homeland; those who remain will live quietly under intimidation, and will assimilate sooner or later. Some Romanians will not feel certain about Transylvania belonging to them as long as Hungarians also live there. Unfortunately, we had to come to this conclusion.

[Reporter] What is the official policy of the Hungarian Government toward the Hungarians who arrive here from Romania?

[Jeszenszky] Economically, Hungary is unable to accept a large number of newly arrived refugees, but nobody should forget that it is cruel when one has to suddenly leave his homeland, native land, and friends. Mass exodus is not a solution. Emigration is the final solution, but Hungary is not in the position of America of the 19th century where there was enough room for the many immigrants.

[Reporter] The Romanian Foreign Ministry state secretary proposed to continue the Romanian-Hungarian negotiations in Bucharest at the end of this month. Will the Hungarian Government agree?

[Jeszenszky] We are ready to negotiate, but we do not want to hold unsuccessful talks. The Hungarian side has made many proposals in recent weeks, months, and years. Unfortunately, the Romanians accepted only a few of our concrete proposals which we have recently reiterated.

[Reporter] What proposals did Hungary submit to Romania?

[Jeszenszky] In addition to the permanent and fundamental demand that the Hungarian Consulate in Cluj be reopened, we proposed the legal sale of Hungarian books and publications in Romania, and the opening of shops selling books, records, and other cultural articles. We also proposed improving the telephone and railway contacts. Presently, there is only one train traveling daily between Hungary and Cluj—the capital city of an area with a population of at least 2 million Hungarians. We also proposed the opening of new border- crossing stations. Presently, there are only three border-crossing stations in operation along the Hungarian-Romanian border, two of which are not on the main tourist route; therefore, drivers have to wait long hours at the third border-crossing. We also proposed to improve the reception of Hungarian Television broadcasts in Romania.

[Reporter] Do you intend to improve bilateral relations at a new meeting in Bucharest?

[Jeszenszky] We do not want to contribute to Romania's isolation. This country is isolating itself. On the contrary, we would like Romania to open up to the outside world.

[Reporter] Another issue discussed during the visit of the Romanian state secretary to Budapest in July was how the two countries' schoolbooks should present the common historical and geographical issues.

[Jeszenszky] We agreed on the renewed operation of a mixed committee in charge of examining the two countries' schoolbooks and the various historical issues. I am afraid, however, that the difference between the two positions is still too great. Even if there is not complete understanding, with some good will, we could reduce some historical distortions prevailing in the Romanian schoolbooks—at least the most flagrant ones. We have nothing against modifying the Hungarian schoolbooks—and probably they need changes—although I think that no rationally thinking Romanian could find anything to condemn in those books concerning the Romanians.

[Reporter] In February, Hungary let the bilateral agreement on banning dual citizenship run its course and become invalid. What has happened since then?

[Jeszenszky] Indeed, Hungary did that. As a result, the former Romanian citizens can now acquire Hungarian citizenship. Many such requests have arrived to the Hungarian authorities.

I, personally, have nothing against dual citizenship. One has the right to maintain his Romanian citizenship if he so chooses. In other words, I agree with everything that brings the two countries closer to each other, rather than separating them. I think that dual citizenship is an advantage. After all, these people have two homelands—one in Hungary where they speak their mother tongue, and one in Transylvania, where they still speak their mother tongue.

All in all, we might have good relations if Romania becomes an open country and is ready to cooperate. The bad memories of past events, however—including the recent past—can only be discarded with difficulty. I very much hope that the Romanian president and other government officials, including nongovernment officials, will understand that Romania's economic prosperity depends on its readiness to cooperate—not only with Hungary, but also with Europe in general.

All our proposals serve Romania's interests and would also facilitate the national minority rapprochement in Romania. People would have more confidence in the future. Instead of devoting so much energy on inciting hatred, they should concentrate on economic recovery and on improving the standard of living.

Assesses Relations With USSR, Others

AU2708071090 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Hanna Szalay; place and date not given: "Hungary's Relations With its Neighbors Is a Key Issue—We Need To Develop Hungarian-Soviet Relations"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Geza Jeszenszky will meet with the CSFR foreign minister in the near future and with the Soviet foreign minister at a time to be set later. As he informed us, the Hungarian Government regards our relations with neighboring countries as a key issue, and the government is striving to improve these relations where necessary; at the same time, the Hungarian Government expects the promises to be kept in connection with the situation of the Hungarian national minority. The Hungarian Government has begun to reexamine the energy supply structure. Geza Jeszenszky informed us of all this and said that it would be welcome if we could ease the losses incurred from the increase in the price of crude oil by means of the compensation fund.

[Szalay] The changes in regimes at home and in the neighboring countries have also swept the taboos away, including the former sham unity. At the same time, suppressed offenses and differences of views have come to the fore. As a result, the tone of voice has become sharp in this area. Because the majority of offenses is in connection with the large number of Hungarians living in neighboring countries, a situation has emerged in which, seemingly, Hungary is quietly and gradually becoming isolated. How is Hungarian foreign policy trying to avoid this?

[Jeszenszky] This subject has been on the agenda since the crumbling of communist regimes last year. Following the initial joy, the foreign press started questioning whether "this will not lead to problems" because, as they wrote, "so far, communism has blocked the advance of nationalism and has kept a tight hand on the small nations competing against each other, and now, these nations will turn against each other." Therefore, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] issued a serious appeal at Christmas and called upon the freed nations and their leaders to preserve the solidarity that developed during the years of tyranny and to commit themselves to democratic principles and the respect of human rights, and also to develop their relations in this spirit in the future. I think the opportunity for this continues to exist.

First, six months have already passed without us arguing with each other. Indeed, freedom also releases undesirable views and passions. We can see such examples mainly in the Soviet Union. At the same time, this is like a ghost escaping from a bottle: Once outside, it will spread and will lose its density and power, and will ultimately dissolve. I do not think that history progresses according to predetermined laws. Therefore, I do not say that the current situation is inevitable. I think that we can formulate the historical events today, not only we Hungarians, but together with our neighbors. That is why I accepted the position of foreign minister.

Our relationship with our neighbors is a key issue, given Hungary's situation, population size, and the subsequent importance of foreign relations. I do not consider the current situation to be hopeless or particularly severe.

Despite appearances, there was tremendous tension and hatred during the dictatorships. People who traveled to neighboring countries were frequently aware of this. Atrocities abounded at the time and the official policy constantly denounced "liberal" Hungary in Moscow. In other words, relations were not good at all.

We cannot say, however, today that relations are bad with all our neighbors. Unfortunately, there is a big difference within this area between countries and even forces within individual nations, which are really democratic, follow a really European policy, and behave in a real European way, and countries where all these things are only slogans, because this happens to be in vogue today and because either they do not really know what today's European norm is or they do not want to accept it.

Back to the positive things: In my opinion, our relations with the Czech nation and the Czech and Slovak Federal Government are very good. The friendship between the two heads of state is symbolic, but also more than that. I have repeatedly met with Foreign Minister Dienstbier for short talks, and an official visit is planned in the near future.

[Szalay] When?

[Jeszenszky] In the near future. I have already met with the Yugoslav premier twice, most recently together with Prime Minister Antall. I have also held several talks with the leaders of Serbia and the several leaders of Croatia and Slovenia. Our prospects concerning Yugoslavia are particularly promising also in the framework of the pentagonal talks. Concerning Croatia and Slovenia, we are talking about concrete economic cooperation, improving transportation contacts, mutually supporting national minorities, and opening new border crossings. In other words, relations are quite good with our southern neighbors.

It seems that serious tensions have emerged with Slovakia and Romania. I am glad, however, to see that there are very serious factors in both countries—persons and trends alike—which are aware of the dangers of polemics and do not want to continue them. I can responsibly say that the Hungarian Government and the parties included in the government coalition—and I presume I can also say the same about the opposition—are trying to improve our relations with the aforementioned two neighbors as much as possible.

Both the opposition and the government parties agree that, in the case of the Hungarian minority, we expect the promises to be kept. An adequate solution can only be imagined under really democratic conditions and the assertion of norms generally prevailing in Western Europe. In other words, the prospects are not bad at all. It all depends on whether the forces of a narrow-minded nationalism or the forces of cooperation and Europeanism will prevail. The Hungarian society and the Hungarian political factors are all for Europeanism and cooperation.

[Szalay] If democratic conditions do not prevail, however, the situation of the Hungarian national minority will all the more give cause for concern; on the other hand, we will still have to maintain some sort of contact with the country in question. How can you solve this problem?

[Jeszenszky] There was dialogue and diplomatic contact between various capitals also during the dictatorship. I think that the tensions will subside in the future. These are nations and forces that did not have the opportunity to represent themselves in the past, and they felt that they could not assert their interests adequately. Slovakia is unhappy with the federation, and, in my opinion, Romania is still under the influence of the propaganda prevailing during the Ceausescu era, or at least some Romanians think so in connection with Hungary. The important thing for us Hungarians is to keep calm, and I think that, sooner or later, this calm will also affect our neighbors.

[Szalay] You spoke about Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in terms of their components, rather than mentioning them as individual states. Does Hungarian foreign policy planning count on the dismantling of the present federations?

[Jeszenszky] We no longer speak of Czechoslovakia, but of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The two leading nations of that state demanded that. That is not yet the case with Yugoslavia, but one can easily imagine a situation in which a looser cooperation will replace the current federation. Naturally, Hungary takes this into consideration.

We have contacts with today's state capitals but we are ready to negotiate with the Slovaks as a separate side. The Hungarian public must also get used to this. I think that, a few hundred years from now, the conflicts between peoples living in the Carpathian basin in the 19th and 20th century will be presented as a short period of aberration in the history books of the time. For centuries, these peoples lived well together, and they will certainly live well together in the future.

[Szalay] We have yet another neighbor, which is not only a big neighbor but also a big power. I do not see the role of the Soviet Union in the foreign policy of the Antall government; I only see what this government does not want to do with the Soviet Union. Are there any steady contacts and dialogue between Budapest and Moscow? If so, how is it possible that the supply of energy was not reduced as a result of some compensation talks? How is it possible that, according to a Foreign Ministry statement, you learned about halting the border area traffic from the press?

[Jeszenszky] This is not exactly so. The decrease in the supply of energy is something general, and not a discriminative step against Hungary. Regretfully, but also understandably, we must accept the fact that the Soviet Union is unable to supply us with more energy. This tells us that we must reexamine our entire energy supply system. This government has already begun preparations to avoid such a danger. Among other things, we began to examine the possibilities of countermeasures in case such a situation emerges: purchasing from other sources and conserving energy.

We were aware of the intention to halt the border area traffic. We tried to take countermeasures and convince the Soviet side to refrain from dropping the former preferential treatments. We had to accept the fact, however, that there were economic reasons behind that decision—namely that they were unable to give forints to their citizens, and thus, these people purchased goods to be sold in Hungary for forints. The best solution proposed by the Hungarian side would be to offer forints for sale for the Soviet state, and the Soviet state could, therefore, provide its tourists with forints. This would require something in return, however, such as gems, oil, gold, or some other goods. We made up a rather long list, and we will accept anything—not only gold—for forints. We held negotiations about all these things, and we made proposals which we continue to regard as valid, but we are also ready to seek other solutions. A renewed limitation of the recently gained freedom of maneuver would be a very bad thing.

[Szalay] What was the level of these negotiations?

[Jeszenszky] These negotiations were held at a foreign ministerial level, as well as at the expert level. Such negotiations are currently under way, but, I repeat, we are open for any other solution.

[Szalay] Does your agenda not contain a meeting with Shevardnadze, too?

[Jeszenszky] Yes, it does, but the date is not yet fixed. It is not so easy to find a proper time for this. I do not mean that my schedule is so tight; I mean that the schedule of the Soviet foreign minister is even tighter than mine. I hope that we will succeed, however, in finding one free day for negotiations. We are ready for this meeting because we regard our relations with the Soviet Union and the various Soviet republics as essential. We follow the developments with attention and we are ready for any negotiation and solution. We would like to see a restructured Soviet Union or a confederation as an economically successful partner, with which we could trade properly and maintain good relations.

We also follow the type of independence processes emerging in the member republics of the Soviet Union. Our sympathy is clear, and we support every justified effort in this regard. At the same time, we are not only negotiating with the Soviet Union and its central government and understand their situation, but we would also like to promote a solution mutually acceptable for all. We look at what these people, countries, and republics desire for themselves. We do not want to engage in politics against anyone. This also applies to the Soviet Union.

[Szalay] As a follow-up of the Keri-statement, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA mentioned the possibility of Soviet citizens demanding compensation from Hungary for the atrocities committed by the occupying Hungarian forces. What is the position of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry in connection with this? Were these affairs not settled once in the war compensations paid by Hungary after World War II?

[Jeszenszky] Naturally, I condemn every type of atrocity, damage, and war. Indeed, the Hungarian compensations were meant to pay for the damage incurred by Hungary on the Soviet Union in that war. This cannot be reopened legally. The 20th century has produced such horrors, including the fate of people taken away for "malenkiy robot" [Russian phrase used] or forced labor, and their demand for moral compensation is completely justified; similarly, their demand for financial compensation is also justified, as far as is possible. At the same time, there is a need for a certain generosity in Hungarian-Soviet relations. If we want to build a new Europe and a new world, we must draw a curtain over certain things. I do not mean forgetting, and a historian would never say something like that, but I would rather say that we should turn over a new leaf.

[Szalay] Allow me one more question. What is your opinion about the idea of using a European or UN fund to defend some countries from the expected drastic oil price increases due to the Iraq-Kuwait crisis, countries which the current economic sanctions against Iraq would bring into an impossible situation, and that includes Hungary too? What is the amount of our claims from Iraq?

[Jeszenszky] A separate ministry is in charge of international economic issues, but I can give you an answer to this question: We are owed $145 million. It would definitely be an advantage for us if the international financial world or the leading states were ready to provide some sort of compensation. At present, however, I cannot tell whether there is such a readiness. Nevertheless, a drastic increase in oil prices is not inevitable, because the oil producing countries have been keeping down their production for a long time. The loss of Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil can easily be replaced.

Statement on Rumored 30 Aug Romanian Protest

LD2408180190 Budapest MTI in English 1612 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry issued the following statement today:

News is filtering through from Romania that certain extremist groups are preparing to use the 50th anniversary of the 2nd Vienna decision, signed on August 30, 1940, for staging militant demonstrations mainly in the Hungarian-inhabited regions of Translyvania.

The Hungarian Government and the whole Hungarian society believe that historic events should be judged as separate entities distinct from matters of day-to-day politics. It is particularly undesirable for the relations between the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe to be burdened by sociological and attention-seeking polemic. The Government of the Republic of Hungary hopes a similar stance will be taken in Romania, with the various parties and organizations refraining from actions that might disrupt accomplishment of the difficult historic tasks lying ahead of us.

The totally unfounded allegation that Hungary is agitating for a change of the present European frontiers has been repeatedly voiced abroad recently. The statement of the freely-elected Hungarian Parliament concerning the Trianon Peace Treaty, signed on June 4, 1920, also runs contrary to such rumours.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry—in line with relevant parliamentary decisions and previous government statements—reiterates that Hungary is observing the valid international agreements, and has no intention of forcibly changing the borders, so endangering the security of its neighbours.

Nobody has cause or legal grounds to interpret the responsibility felt for those Hungarians turned into minorities as a result of the hostile 1920 and 1947 peace treaties as a sign of hostility. Hungary does everything it can to meet the requirements of the ethnic minorities living in its former territory. At the same time, it in no way objects to the efforts of its neighbouring countries to support the political and cultural endeavours of the Hungarian minorities, indeed, it urges them to do so.

To recapitulate, the Republic of Hungary strives for decent and friendly relations with all its neighbours, as a way of promoting the integration of newly democratizing countries into a single Europe that espouses common values.

Social Democratic Party on Disciplinary Statement

LD2508221190 Budapest MTI in English 1806 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—The National Board of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH) [MSZDP] termed as "unlawful and null and void in all points" the communique issued a few days ago, in which the party's national leadership relieved Anna Petrasovits, and several other members of the Presidium, of their function and initiated disciplinary actions against them. The board passed its decision at a session in Budapest on Saturday [25 August].

The statement approved at the current board session states that the former resolution was passed by the "secedist internal opposition" of the SDPH, and only the party congress has the authority to relieve the president and the presidium, according to the statutes.

The board has suspended the membership of all those who participated in the decision against the president, with a final decision about their membership to be taken by the SDPH congress, to be held in November.

Charge d'Affaires To Remain in Kuwait Embassy

LD2408163390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Polish Charge d'Affaires in Kuwait Janusz Dworak has received an instruction from headquarters in Warsaw to continue his presence in Kuwait in order to ensure the protection of the Polish citizens who are still there. Should our diplomatic personnel be forced to leave the outpost then the responsibility for their safety will fall on the Iraqis.

Foreign Ministry Updates Kuwait Embassy Status

LD2508092490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0805 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Interview with Andrzej Majkowski, director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Asia and Africa Department, by unidentified correspondent in Warsaw on 25 Aug—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Director, at 0630 [0430 GMT], as the agencies report, the ultimatum issued by Iraq to diplomatic representations for diplomats to leave Kuwaiti territory was supposed to have expired. As is generally known, the MSZ [Foreign Affairs Ministry] instructed our representation to keep operating and told our diplomats not to leave. How many of them are left?

[Majkowski] Sir, we had a report yesterday, too, that Iraq agrees to one administrative-technical employee staying on embassy premises in Kuwait to look after the property. In view of the fact that we have no administrative-technical employee—we only have a diplomat—I told the Iraqi ambassador that we would be leaving Mr. Dworak on embassy premises and we hold the Iraqis responsible for his safety. He simply made the comment that in this situation perhaps Mr. Dworak will be recognized as that administrative-technical employee by the Iraqi authorities.

[Correspondent] But without immunity?

[Majkowski] [words indistinct] competent to give a final decision, I asked him to convey our position.

[Correspondent] All right, but if he is recognized as a technical employee, then he is without immunity?

[Majkowski] Well, yes, yes.

[Corresondent] In view of that, then, will he be in any danger or not?

[Majkowski] I do not think so because the Iraqis have said that they want one employee of this kind to be there to protect and look after the building. So they seem to want some representatives there to prevent looting and so on.

[Correspondent] Indeed. Director, there is no contact at the moment but is there a chance that contact will be made in the immediate future?

[Majkowski] It is probably too early to say because this matter has only just come up. We do not know if anybody has contact because it is all just happenening there at the moment. I think we will be able to say more on the subject in 24 hours or so.

Poles Said Still Working in Iraqi Arms Industry

LD2508120690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] GAZETA SWIATECZNA writes about Poles in Iraqi arms factories. Poland did not just supply arms to Iraq. It was also involved in the development of the arms industry there. At least several hundred Poles are still working in Iraqi plants connected with arms production. The MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] is determining how many of them there are and where they are. Many specialists employed by Polservice in various Iraqi design offices also think that they are designing sections of military installations, although they are not allowed to see the whole plan. The majority of the Poles in Iraq get this impression, in any case.

Polish, U.S. Citizens Held in Iraqi Complexes

AU2708083590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25-26 Aug 90 p 1

["KL"-signed report: "Poles in Weapons Factories"]

[Text] "Poland did not just supply Iraq with arms, it is also involved in the development of the Iraqi arms industry," stated Ryszard Grochowski, head of the Bumar-Labedy export department, to GAZETA WYBORCZA. Bumar-Labedy is a large producer of combat tanks.

According to Grochowski, there are still several dozen Bumar-Labedy staff in Iraq, "mainly instructors in tank assembly factories and consulting engineers who are helping in the development of the Iraqi arms industry. We are doing everything to get these people out." Bumar-Labedy employees concentrated in the area around Baghdad and in installations of obvious military significance would come under threat in the event of a preemptive attack by international forces from Saudi Arabia.

Starting on Thursday [23 August], the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation began drawing up a list of all Poles who are in the regions and installations at risk. No such list had been compiled on Friday, however, and we have only scraps of information from other sources.

According to Szumski, Foreign Affairs Ministry department director, the people who are most at risk are in the south of Iraq. In the steel mill at Um 'Qasr, near the Kuwaiti border, there are some 50 Poles from the Krakow-based company, Realbud. Nearby in Basra the Naftobudowa company has some 147 employees and Budimex has some 51.

Some 65 people from the Bipromasz company who are working in or around the military base near Baghdad are employed on construction and installation projects. Director Leszek Jagiarski does not exclude the possibility that these could be used for armament production.

Several dozen employees of the Elektromontaz enterprise are working on electrical installations all over Iraq. At what locations? According to those who have already been evacuated, these are "mainly military installations."

In the heavily guarded chemical complex at al-Qa'im near the Syrian border, where 35 U.S. hostages are reputed to be held, there are still 150 employees of Chemadex and 47 employees of Instalexport. They are housed in a camp that lies barely one km away from the complex. Those employees of Chemadex who have already been evacuated have said that the plant also produces chemical fertilizers, but the installation is extremely important for the Iraqis.

It is also known that some Poles are employed on private contracts in the most heavily guarded steel mills that have been built by the FRG and which produce cannon and ammunition.

Many Polservice experts who are employed in various Iraqi design bureaus are under the impression that they are designing fragments of military installations, although they have no access to the overall plan. Most of the Poles in Iraq are under the same impression.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry has scheduled a successive evacuation from Iraq for Tuesday, although it may be possible to begin it as early as Sunday. The Iraqi-Jordanian border crossing at Ruweished is open again. Even if were shut again, Poland has permission to take its convoy through there. It is also trying to secure agreement for its planes to land in Baghdad in order to pick up women, children, and all those who feel at risk.

In a special statement which is to be the basis for negotiations with the West on compensations for Poland, the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation has calculated the losses sustained by Poland as a result of implementing the UN sanctions against Iraq. These have already mounted to $285 million and a further $288 million are likely. Losses resulting from the suspension of negotiations on various new trade and service contracts could reach $1.5 billion.

Anniversary Rallies on Lithuanian Border Continue

LD2508000590 Warsaw PAP in English 1222 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Suwalki, Aug 24—Friday is the second day of a series of meetings and rallies at the Polish-Lithuanian border crossing point Lazdijai on the Lithuanian side. The events are held under the slogan "Road to a Free Europe," and have been organized jointly by the Lithuanian "Sajudis" and the "Solidarity" on the 51st anniversary of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact.

Yesterday's rally was attended by Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis and over 1,000 Poles accompanied by representatives of other European states, among them Czechoslovakia, Norway, and the GDR.

The border anniverasry observation ends today in the afternoon.

Police Seek Soviet Soldier; Desertion Suspected

LD2508002190 Warsaw PAP in English 1613 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Gorzow Wielkopolski, 24 Aug—The police in Gorzow Wielkopolski, western Poland, are looking for a Soviet soldier, aged 19, who left his unit during training in Keszyca on August 22.

The soldier was dressed in combat uniform and was unarmed.

New Agreement on Soviet Troops To Be Drafted

LD2608210690 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Koszalin, Aug. 26—A new agreement is being drafted on the stationing of the Soviet troops in Poland, head of the office of the Polish Government plenipotentiary for Soviet troops in Poland Colonel Henryk Urbaniak told today the voivode of Koszalin, mayors and village heads, and added that the document would be soon negotiated with the Soviet side.

Colonel Urbaniak said that representatives of towns and rural districts where Soviet units are stationing would meet in Legnica in early September.

Meanwhile, Voivode of Koszalin Stanislaw Socha, mayors and village heads examined the hitherto implementation of agreements signed last December by the voivode and the Soviet Government plenipotentiary for the stationing of the Soviet troops in Poland. The meeting said that the Soviet side had so far failed to implement the agreement.

Soviet Army Unit To Leave, Hand Over Village

LD2708095990 Warsaw PAP in English 0836 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 27—A Soviet military unit stationed in Kluczewo, northwestern Poland, will turn over the village of Slotnice to the local government in Starogard, PAP learned from Szczecin Voivod Marek Talasiewicz.

The voivodship office was notified of this by the bureau of the plenipotentiary of the Polish Government for the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland. The official handing over of the village is to take place next week, after family members of Soviet soldiers leave it first. Until now the village did not figure in the register of the Starogard rural district.

Walesa Extends Italy Visit Through 27 Aug

LD2508004190 Warsaw PAP in English 1711 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 24—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa's visit to Italy, originally scheduled for one day, has been extended to two days, Walesa's press office has announced.

Walesa will fly from Gdansk to Rimini on Sunday morning to attend an international meeting on friendship between nations organized there by the Italian Christian Association.

Walesa is also expected to collect a "Meeting'90" award in Rimini and to give a press conference there.

In the afternoon the Solidarity leader is to meet with Vice-President of the European Parliament Luigi Formigoni and later on to fly to Rome.

On Monday morning (August 27) Walesa will attend morning mass to be said by Pope John Paul II in Castel Gandolfo and will be received by the pope at an audience. This is going to be the fifth meeting between the Polish-born pope and Walesa.

Walesa will also meet with representatives of Italian trade union councils.

Walesa Discusses Presidency, 'Acceleration'

LD2508011990 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 24—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa today appeared in the Polish Radio's third program, replying to questions put by listeners who were mostly interested whether he would run for president and in his concept of "acceleration."

Asked about his conflict with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Walesa replied:

"Basically there has been no conflict between me and Mazowiecki. Certain groups which I pinched in the bottom to go forward, to reform, put it that I was supposedly fighting against Mazowiecki. This is not true. Something else is at issue.

"I think that a chance was not capitalized on when the party dissolved itself. This hits back now. I am therefore trying to say that we have really only reached half-way mark. This is still not the Poland that we want. This is not how it was supposed to be.

"We have overcome the system but have not built another one. This is not the Poland which we have fought for. And some are saying: Go home, we will take care of the rest. I do not believe in this, in such possibilities.

"A total of 60 percent of people did not show up at the local government elections. This means that they do not identify with us, that they are not with us. And this is not their fault. It is our fault, the fault of elites, that we were not able to encourage them, that we are not giving them access and not finding opportunities for them."

Asked what he thought about the emigre President Ryszard Kaczorowski's willingness to take over as president of Poland, Lech Walesa replied:

"History must agree that this is the continuity of Polish democracy, pure Polish democracy. We must solve this problem somehow and remember that it come from the outside, which they (emigrees) are not to blame for.

"We must thank these people and even use their experience. Nonetheless, I do not know whether in a situation when these people were not in Poland for the last 45 years, they would be capable of coming back and operating well.

"One has to work in Poland, the president cannot sit around and be an observer. Poland needs an active, fast president.

"In the long-run, in order to govern, one must have grown up here, be here in order to solve problems. This would not be good for Poland. Perhaps in the short-term, as continuity, this would be proper..."

Walesa Reviews Italy Trip Schedule

LD2608185290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by reporter Andrzej Trojanowski; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa left today for Rimini in Italy by a special plane provided by the organizers of the international meeting Friendship Between Nations. Before leaving, he said the following to Andrzej Trojanowski, our reporter.

[Walesa] I do not know much about this visit; however, my press spokesman can say more. I am only very pleased that I am going to be in Italy for the third time, that I am going to meet friends, that I am going to meet the Holy Father—and thus I will tell them what is happening in Poland as I see it.

[Trojanowski] I have heard that you are going to make a speech to quite a large audience.

[Walesa] Can that be compared to a Polish audience? Here there are always thousands, millions, and there there is probably always less in the West, as I know. [as heard] On Saturday and Sunday people take a good rest from the auditorium—thus I am interested myself to see how many Italians are going to be at that meeting on Sunday.

[Trojanowski] What are you going to say there? What information will you give? What do you want to talk about?

[Walesa] A speech talking about the Christian roots of Europe, about Europe being and always having been pluralistic—not to push any ideas, to coexist—that is the idea of the speech.

[Trojanowski] The chairman of the Union was not at the Saturday anniversary meeting of Solidarity people, in the Warsaw Technological University.

[Walesa] Yes, but I could not be there on the day before my departure. But those were not at all the events, either. The whole of Poland is celebrating the tenth anniversary, and I was there. I was there with my text [reference to the letter Walesa sent to the meeting yesterday].

[Trojanowski] There were many critical words addressed to you at the meeting, uttered by Seweryn Jaworski [deputy chairman of Solidarity 80].

[Walesa] Jaworski always had that kind of opinion. I also think he is a somewhat sick person. He should get some treatment. That is all I can say. I have not heard what he said, however, I know how weak he always was psychologically, after all.

[Trojanowski] On 31 August the meeting will be in the now famous BHP (Safety and Hygiene at Work) Hall.

[Walesa] Yes, and there we will recall the history of our last ten years, and I think we will say something about what should be done to go forward. [passage omitted]

Walesa Unable To Attend Solidarity Meetings

LD2408205990 Warsaw PAP in English 1245 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 24—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa had to cancel his meeting with Solidarity factory committees of large and medium enterprises in Krakow's Sendzimir Steel Mill, held today, because he had to attend many meetings at one time and have some medical tests done, Walesa's press bureau has told PAP.

Issues Letter for Solidarity Meeting

LD2508192890 Warsaw PAP in English 1509 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has issued a letter to the participants of a meeting "On the experience of August-Decade of solidarity" in which he thanked the participants for engaging in solidarity affairs in the last ten years.

Walesa stressed that the most important challenge of modern times was to fill in the void created by the previous system. "We have conquered it, and we have accomplished much but we have worked out a way of restoring the social vigour of 1980 which was stifled by martial law," the Solidarity leader wrote, adding:

"The key task which faces the elites, is to release social activity, take up the challenge of capitalizing on victory so that our new Poland be one in which we would all feel coresponsible."

Prime Minister Addresses Solidarity Meeting

LD2508192290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpts] A meeting was held in Warsaw today to mark the 10th anniversary of Solidarity. Here is a report from our correspondent Andrzej Jelenski and Marek Kassa.

Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa, and union activists and advisers were all invited by the Mazowsze Region to a meeting entitled "The experience of August: A decade of Solidarity," held in the Adam Mickiewicz Hall in Warsaw University. Apart from representatives of Solidarity founding commissions from the Mazowsze region, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and members from both houses of parliament, the Sejm and the Senate, attended. [passage omitted]

Lech Walesa did not attend the meeting, but he sent a letter. [passage omitted]

Addessing the meeting Prime, Minister Mazowiecki said, among other things:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] For myself, ladies and gentlemen, I feel too often that this country is very weak, when I compare from a historical point of view—sometimes such comparisons come to mind—for the immensity of the reform is similar to that of the twenties. Then I feel that this country is, in many ways, very weak. But at the same time I know that this Polish state, reborn, in this part of Europe, may play a great and important role, and can get back on its feet only through the strength of its citizens, through the consciousness of its citizens.

Today we are divided by various roles, and we will be divided by the various social and political role which we play and by various points of view. That is what democracy is all about. But along with the divisions, there must remain the awareness, that deeper consciousness, that—notwithstanding all these divisions—we will all be responsible for this moment in history. [applause] [end recording]

Mazowiecki Discusses Prospects for Democracy

LD2408220390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1955 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Dominican monk Maciej Ziemba; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ziemba] Mr. Prime Minister, a dozen or more years ago when I had the joy and honor of working with you, when I did not dream that I might one day become a monk, I did not expect that within a year of your becoming prime minister such a conversation as this might be possible. For it is a commonly accepted truth—and it is supported by practice—that politicians are really slaves of the media, that they are condemned to make various populist gestures, that they try to cooperate as well as they can. This is a practice which exists not only in the United States but in the whole of Western Europe. You, on the other hand, are very reluctant when it comes to populism—that is very obvious. You do not—if I may use a sporting term here—like to play to the audience.

As part of my calling I have to travel a lot. I travel a lot in crowded trains, in buses. I hear what people say out in the countryside, in small villages, in larger towns. I hear very often what is a mood of uncertainty, a mood of a certain tiredness, and this is actually understandable because the country is still in ruins and uncertainty concerning tomorrow is something felt by the great majority of Polish families. But on top of these objective conditions there are also, as it were, subjective conditions. That is, that Solidarity, which was a great gathering above all divisions, a gathering around good, around values, looks as if it is now burning out, and one can see very sharply defined divisions. Perhaps this is unavoidable, but as far as people are concerned, this only serves to increase the uncertainty and the worry.

[Mazowiecki] No doubt. We are speaking in August, a month which will see the 10th anniversary of the strike and the Gdansk agreements. It is after all a very historical month, as there are three such important historical dates. There is 15 August 1920 [the Battle of Warsaw]; 1 August—the Warsaw Uprising; and 31 August—the Gdansk Accord, Solidarity, the creation of Solidarity. It is a very important month from the point of view of national remembrance.

Solidarity was the unifying movement, and only by that unification was it able to form a great antitotalitarian force. If we are talking precisely about August, I remember well those days of the strike, when I was in the shipyard and when there really were no problems, no divisions, no mutual suspicions or difficulties. Later, differences arose, after all. However, it is clear that in such a great antitotalitarian movement, in the situation where democracy is being created, there must be differences—on one condition, however, that the process of differentiation is not going to erase the abilities which were also the unifying forces, and that people with different political opinions do not become enemies. It is a very difficult condition to fulfill, as all kinds of break-ups in the family are the most difficult and painful, and often the most extreme voices are then heard.

[Ziemba] I am very worried, not being a politician, that something is happening which one could even severely call the savaging of the Polish scene. Recent months have seen the articulation of various divisions, not by the presentation of the programs of various interest groups or various social groups, but by throwing about invectives which are aimed at annihilating to a certain extent the opponent. Thus divisions are provoked in an aggressive manner, or they are being created—to be precise, the town-village, the intelligentsia against the workers, the left and the right. One would have thought we had left all this behind us.

[Mazowiecki] Of course I am worried or troubled by the many signs of this process of differentiation, and I would very much like this differentiation to be in a certain political culture and [to be] deeper—not to be a passage to mutual enmity. I think this is fundamental. And I think it is a fundamental need to present arguments, programs [words indistinct]. I think we have a great deal to do to build this foundation of democracy in Poland, to restructure the economy; and the framework should be firmly mounted and we should not waste the time we have behind us, a time of great social patience.

[Ziemba] But altogether, in fact, you are...[changes thought] One can probably talk of this kind of phenomenon, that people need change a little, and sometimes slogans—one could also (?call them) decrees—to speed things up, to fall on fertile ground, because this silence, this slow inconsistent activity by the government, is taken simply for weakness.

[Mazowiecki] Nevertheless, if you take the situation in Poland as a whole and the enormous changes which have come about, then there exists, I would say, a certain iron consistency. In some spheres we must continue to act consistently, maybe more decisively, maybe more comprehensibly to many people; maybe we have not been able to explain many things to people simply, and the problems and decisions are sometimes complex. But I think we should not lose sight of a few fundamental things. First, mutual understanding and the principle of telling people the truth openly.

Second, we should not lose sight of the fact that these changes must take place peacefully and with mutual understanding of various social paths and awareness of those matters which are of overriding importance for the country.

I cannot be, here, an apologist for the government. Moreover, it was not the government on its own which achieved this; this was achieved also by the parliament and, above all, it was achieved by society, by the nation. But one could mention such areas as, for example, the judiciary and the prosecutors' offices; we are on the road to revitalizing the situation in the Ministry of Internal Affairs; there is wide-ranging reorganization, there is reorganization in the Army—(?it is built on the basis of self-management)—and there is freedom of the press, freedom of expression, assured for everyone, access... Of course I am well aware of criticism: some say that they do not have enough access... Well, the transition to such a wise pluralism, which is not just that everyone should shout out what they have to say, but that which depends on showing the reader or the listener all the various points of view. That is a different transition and one which has to be learned.

Well, I believe that all of these are positive things—this form of economy, this controlling of inflation.

Now we are facing the transition to actions aimed at privatization, at the speeding up of a wider-ranging process after the adoption of these laws. These are areas which have been hard-fought for through tremendous work and tremendous understanding on the part of society, and this must not be lost.

[Ziemba] Just lately several movements and parties have been created which say that they support the political philosophy of the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Well, I would like to ask a little about this philosophy, and more particularly, I would like to ask whether historic parallel is possible. A Europe, ruined after World War II, Western Europe, was rebuilt by a group of great Christian politicians: De Gasperi in Italy, De Gaulle, Adenauer, Schumann. Well, they all had similar characteristics: They really were very ardent Catholics, they were [word indistinct] adversaries of nationalism, they believed that the family was the basic organization of social life, but, what is more important—a really significant characteristic—was that they believed that law and order, which ought to mirror the laws of nature, were the basis of a good state, a primacy of absolute value.

This is the basis of my question: Is this school of political thinking close to your heart? And my second question: Do you believe that now we are coming out from under the shadow of World War II? Can such a political philosophy become a real force in Eastern Europe and rebuild this second part of Europe?

[Mazowiecki] I think that this set of values is a fundamental hope for Poland and for this Eastern Europe. Yes, fundamental! It is a fundamental hope and a kind of signpost if Europe is to return to unity, if Europe is not to get bogged down in mutual strife or the total impotence of divisions. It is possible only on the basis of such a philosophy and on the basis of these values. All of these values are very dear to me personally and I think they are at the foundation of what is called the philosophy of the government I lead. The problem lies in one very fundamental question, namely: What will the democracy we are building be like? What will the new Polish democracy be like? Will it be a democracy based on the values most deeply inherent in the Christian culture of Europe, in Christianity? Will it be an open and tolerant democracy? Will it be a modern democracy in its very openness and tolerance, in its vision of problems, in the way it understands them—or won't it?

This is a fundamental question for Poland's future, for the future of this part of Europe. I think that we will only count for something in this new Europe which is forming if we proceed on the basis of these values. I am, therefore, most deeply convinced that it is a key matter for Poland, for its future.

[Ziemba] Maybe the last question results a little from what you said a moment ago. Unfortunately, for the last 40 years we have been trained in declarations of the only correct ideology, as a society, and I am little worried sometimes whether the same has not happened a little to the Catholic social teaching, as [word indistinct] I deal with the church's social teaching, but very often I hear in the declarations of practically all the parties, that they are connected to that social thought of the church, to Catholic social teaching. But apart from this slogan I do not see any specifics, I do not see a Polish specification for 1990 as to how to continue that social thought in Poland. Hence, such a question connected to the former ones. How do you as a practicing politician, in Poland in 1990, understand the Church's social teaching?

[Mazowiecki] Well, this is a fundamental question, one which could take up a whole conversation all by itself. But I would answer that I do not entertain such fears, I do not entertain such fears. I believe that in these matters it is very easy to hear the true note and the false note—if one has good hearing; it is very easy to feel the true note and the false note—the real one, that is when it concerns values and the false one when the point is more to do with putting up a facade.

I believe that this true note is given to today's world and to today's church by John Paul II and, in the way he teaches it. The Catholic social teaching fully expresses those most fundamental values which it contains. This is not a ready remedy for everything, but it is great advice, great advice as to which values are basic, which values in social life ought to be honored. And it is good advice that it is man who is the decisive one, that systems, administrations, ministries, governments are there to serve man and not the other way around. And it is this which this teaching constantly reminds us, about this reference to the human being—that is what it reminds us about and teaches us this true note. And also taking into consideration the fact that next year, I hope, Poland will be very open to the voice of the pope when he comes here. And that will be another, his fourth [visit].

[Ziemba] [Question indistinct]?

[Mazowiecki] [Word indistinct] double, yes, fourth pilgrimage to Poland, in totally new conditions. (?And here) we need, precisely for that deepening of that which is most important, the attainment [word indistinct] of that which is most important in our transformations, the attainment of knowing how to cope with freedom, just as we cope with totalitarianism, that we know how to cope with freedom and form it well. I am counting on, I believe, that that pilgrimage will be a deepening of how we are to cope with our newly gained freedom. And I also believe in the wisdom of Poland's society, that it is going to follow that good note.

[Announcer] Maciej Ziemba, a Dominican, was talking to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Solidarity Factory Committees Meet in Krakow

LD2408205590 Warsaw PAP in English 1243 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Krakow, 24 Aug—Representatives of Solidarity factory commitees from a dozen or so major enterprises who have been invited by the National Agreement of Solidarity Factory Committees which came to existence on July 24, this year, are meeting at the Sendzimir Steel Mill here today.

The meeting discusses the threats and chances facing the process of economic and political changes in Poland and it will also determine the position and role of union members in these processes, especially in privatization of enterprises.

The national agreement, said Wladyslaw Kielian, vice-chairman of the Solidarity cell in the Sendzimier Steel Mill, is not a structure competing with the union authorities, but an opinion-making body for the national committee, which protects the interests of employees.

'National Democracy' Party Emerges From Coalition

LD2408201990 Warsaw PAP in English 1353 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—A new political party, the Narodowa Demokracja (National Democracy) [ND], has been set up after the following political groups combined: the Piast National Party, the Union of National Democrats and the National Women's Organization.

The ND's goal is to partake in the construction of an independent citizen's state of the Polish nation and the transformation of post-communist statehood into a statehood based on Latvian civilization.

Union of Real Politics Presents Economic Program

AU2408172790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 20 Aug 90 p III

[Unattributed report: "The Economy by Us—Excerpts of Economic Program of the Union of Real Politics"]

[Excerpts] Following the appearance of our commentary called "The Rights and Duties of Politicians" in the 10 August issue of RZECZPOSPOLITA, the Union of Real Politics sent us some interesting material by the name of "The Economy by Us," containing the provisions of this party's economic program. We publish excerpts of this interesting document.

The program's basic objective is to create a multitude of private entrepreneurs and expand the private sector on the basis of cheap credits supplied by national sources, so that state and local government ownership can be abolished in as many areas of the national economy as possible, as well as in housing, the health service, higher education, science, culture, and so on. Public financial sources will be suitably restructured, in other words, the state budget and treasury. At the same time as a reduction in the budget, the maximum rate of income tax will be reduced to 25 percent. Compulsory social insurance will be abolished, to be replaced by voluntary insurance schemes with private insurers.

A major proportion of new private enterprises will by financed by mortgages paid by the state treasury. This applies especially to plants in which the shares are held by employees.

Detailed Provisions

State assets, in other words, assets held by the state itself and by local government bodies, will be sold for cash to Poles and foreigners. Any assets unlawfully acquired by the state will be returned to their original owners. [passage omitted]

The tax system will be reduced to just a few categories of taxes: personal income tax, profits tax for firms and farms, and a value added tax on commodities. [passage omitted]

The zloty, as the supreme common asset, will be especially protected. It will be tied up with foreign currencies, e.g. it might be permanently linked to the ECU [European Currency Unit]. The central bank will closely control the amount of money in circulation and emission of new money. The bank will also be responsible for the zloty's complete convertibility. [passage omitted]

All prices, including rates of exchange, rates of interest, and wages, will become free-market prices. Prices may be fixed by administrative means only during the period of transition to a market economy. [passage omitted]

Agriculture, as a sector of particular value in and outside the economy, will be exempted from taxation if each farm invests an amount of money equivalent to the income tax it would normally pay. From the funds earned by privatization, the state treasury will create cheap credits for farms, thus permitting a maximum increase in agricultural output.

'No Intention To Close' Embassy in Kuwait

AU2408200590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1904 GMT 24 Aug 90

["Official Events: Release From the Romanian Foreign Ministry"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/8/1990—Iraqi officials announced on August 24 the decision to forcefully close the foreign embassies in Kuwait, saying that the personnel of the missions that would not have desisted activity by August 24 evening would be evacuated.

In connection with that decision, the Romanian Foreign Ministry reiterates Romania's adhesion to the Security Council resolutions that, among other things, declare Kuwait's annexation by Iraq as null and void.

In keeping with the unanimously admitted principles of international law and especially with the principles of diplomatic law, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces that it has no intention to close the Romanian Embassy in Kuwait.

Iliescu Receives Saddam Husayn's Special Envoy

AU2508185590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] President Ion Iliescu today received Samal Majid Faraj, special envoy of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn. The meeting was attended by Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase and Presidential Counselor Ion Mircea Pascu. Mr. Ibrahim Shuja' Sultan, ambassador of Iraq in Bucharest, was also present. The two sides discussed aspects of the situation in the Gulf area and bilateral relations. The meeting took place in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

Additional 120 Citizens Return From Iraq

AU2608170490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1604 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/8/1990—On Sunday another 120 Romanian citizens returned to Romania coming from Iraq via Amman.

Most of them are workers with "Romconsult" and ever since August 16 they have lived in a hotel in Baghdad, paying for their own food. The other Romanians come to Bucharest today are workers in power engineering who worked on various Iraqi construction sites.

Foreign Ministry Rebuffs Hungarian Policy

AU2508185490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

["Press Communique" issued by the Foreign Affairs Ministry; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The thirtieth of August 1990 marks the 50th anniversary since the [word indistinct] dictate of Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy was imposed on Romania, whereby the northwestern part of our country was annexed to Hungary. As a result of this political act of force, the Romanian occupied territory became—within Europe of the 20th century—the scene of an unprecedented genocide committed by Hungarian authorities, who unleashed a wave of massacres against the peaceful inhabitants of Transylvania, which claimed thousands upon thousands of Romanian and Jewish lives.

Fifty years after the events which caused great grief to our nation, we have noted with consternation that revanchist and revisionist forces are trying to disturb the peace of the Romanian people in an irresponsible way and to endanger today, as they did in the past, the peace of our continent, by making use of the sad recollection of those events in order to achieve their reprovable aims. We firmly reject the obvious desire of the promoters of this policy to turn back the wheel of history and to perpetuate in interstate relations the conduct and aims of totalitarian regime [word indistinct] of a fascist, Horthyist, and Stalinist type, which is at variance with the current and legitimate aspirations for a Europe of free cooperation between sovereign states, based on equality and respect for the dignity of each people. We are also deeply concerned with the fact that the Hungarian Government—through a recent statement of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry—is trying to divert attention from these events by trying to put the blame on others and even threatening the Romanian Government.

In this sense, the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry assumes the right to call Romanian organizations and institutions extremist and instigating institutions and in a provocative and unjustified way blame them for having poisoned Romanian-Hungarian relations.

The Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry cannot help noting that—despite the fact that at the beginning of the current year there were hopes that Hungary would contribute to establishing bilateral relations characterized by understanding and cooperation—signs of the past have reappeared and are clearly obvious in the policy of the Budapest government. Its intention to establish a troubled atmosphere in this part of Europe, so as to artificially draw the world's attention to the so-called regional problems, is more and more obvious. The act of using this issue of the rights of Romanian citizens belonging to the Hungarian minority is not and cannot be beneficial for our bilateral relations—or for Europe as a whole.

Viewing natural relations between the Hungarian minority in Romania and Hungary as based on their common language and culture and in conformity with the basic institutions of international law, Romania cannot approve of the Hungarian state acting as a political representative of these citizens, and even less can it approve of the stimulating and fanning of a very strong chauvinistic psychosis within the anti-Romanian wing of the Hungarian minority in Romania, in Romanian public opinion, in Europe, and throughout the world.

The Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry firmly rejects the attempt by the Hungarian authorities to hamper—through stances lacking any kind of grounds—the legitimate desire of the Romanian people to peacefully commemorate the tragic events of 1940, when Romania's territory was split and its peaceful inhabitants were massacred. Romania will be faithful to its desire to establish lasting relations with Hungary that will benefit the vital interests of the two peoples and that will raise our geographic proximity to the level of good neighborliness. At the same time, Romania calls on Hungary to renounce the policy of conditions, dictates, slander, and interference and to promote relations of cooperation based on the principles of international law, esteem, and mutual respect.

Vatra Romaneasca Backs Stance

AU2608170090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1555 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/8/1990—The "Vatra Romaneasca" Union fully supports the position taken by Romania's Foreign Ministry in connection with the irresponsible political gesture whereby Hungary interferes into Romania's internal affairs.

In this way, the communique shows, Hungary reiterates revisionist, irredentist, destabilizing and obviously anti-Romanian intentions, employing the older arsenal of anachronic methods which history has blamed.

The "Vatra Romaneasca" Union anticipated the inamicable, diversionist attitude of pan-Magyarism everywhere which might have serious consequences on the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Romania, which is once again threatened with Transylvania's historical rape.

The statement further shows: The "Vatra Romaneasca" Union does its duty to once again call the attention of the parliament, the government and the president of this country to the fact that the tireless Magyar irredentism in Romania, in Hungary and in the Magyar emigration has gained ground after the political turn of December 1989, employing different means, including the mask of democracy conferred through political authority and rendered lawful by the elections.

Our union supports the legitimate authorities of the state in normalizing the socioeconomic life and also calls on all political and non-political organizations and on national minorities urging them to show loyalty and allegiance to the Romanian people.

The "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, which is faithful to the peace establishments that should reign supreme in present-day Europe, wherein Romania finds its traditional dignity, insists that the Romanian parliament should work out, with priority, adequate regulations to meet the current historical imperative in Romania, and that the government should firmly and consistently apply measures to safeguard national dignity and defend the country's frontiers.

Demonstrations Continue Into Fifth Straight Day

Further Details on 23 Aug Provided

AU2408180490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] A communique issued from the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior reports that during the operation to reestablish order in the University Square, where traffic was temporarily blocked by several riotous elements in the evening of 23 August 1990, 11 people were detained and punished for their deeds in conformity with the provisions of Decree No. 153 of 1970.

The communique also stresses that aggression was used against the Interior Ministry troops, which intervened, and that following these acts of violence by the riotous elements, 15 members of the troops suffered injuries and are now under medical treatment. The Ministry of Interior renews its appeal to all people of good faith not to stop in the University Square area and to thus assist the forces of order in their legal actions aimed at reestablishing and ensuring public order.

Ursu Views Demonstrations

AU2508140890 Paris AFP in English 2323 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, Aug 25 (AFP)—Police arrested 21 people Friday [24 August] in continuing anti-government protests in central Bucharest, the Romanian interior minister announced.

Doru Viorel Ursu, in a brief television interview, said he was exercising his right to "ensure peace and public order" after a third day of protests at Bucharest's University Square. He said the demonstrators lacked public support and were challenging "in a violent manner the peaceful life" of the Romanian capital.

Similar protests Thursday led to the arrest of 11 people.

Several hundred demonstrators shouting "Down with communism" and "Down with (President Ion) Iliescu" gathered Friday at University Square, repeatedly the site of anti-government protests since the December collapse of the former communist regime.

Police banged on their shields to scare the protestors away. Many demonstrators tossed water-filled bags and jars of yoghurt at police.

Anti-government demonstrations at University Square last June led to a brutal intervention by miners in which six people were killed and several hundred injured.

Demonstrators Leave; Traffic Resumes

AU2508204290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] In connection with the events that took place on 23-24 August 1990 in the University Square area, police have traced 32 people—11 of them during the night of 23-24 August—who committed acts of disorder, thus seriously disturbing public order and peace. The Police Department calls on everyone to support its actions of firmly combating any attempts at destabilizing social life through acts of disorder caused by malicious elements.

At 2030 [1730 GMT] traffic in Bucharest's University Square was restored following the intervention of the forces of order which were aided by parts of the Army that had come to help the Interior Ministry troops. The demonstrators have withdrawn to neighboring streets, and most of them have actually left the area. The forces of order continue to remain in the area to ensure the normal traffic flow of automobiles and the peace.

Interior Ministry on Demonstration

AU2608165890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1537 GMT 26 Aug 90

["Statement by the Interior Ministry on Events in University Square"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/8/1990—On the afternoon of August 25, 1990, numerous riotous people committed acts of violence in an attempt at disturbing public order and peace in Bucharest.

Interior Ministry troops intervened to reestablish order and deblock road traffic according to a motion passed by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and to relevant normative acts.

Groups of provoking individuals, many of them drunk, successively blocked traffic in front of the Agriculture Ministry, in the Rosetti Square and in front of the "Modern" hotel. They set inflammable materials on fire, hurled bottles and stopped cars which they attacked to get gasoline out of their tanks. Some of those people wore masks to avoid identification.

With the intervention of order-keeping forces, the riotous individuals headed for the Unirea Square, throwing Molotov cocktails inside the apartment buildings under construction there. Firemen were called in to put out the fire. They also threw stones and bottles at the order-keeping forces whom they also attacked with blunt objects.

Those violent acts started after a meeting staged by the Christian and Democratic Revolution Party on August 22, 1990, during which its organizers seriously infringed upon their legal authorization, straying away from their original goal. None of the people who committed acts of disorder claimed allegiance to any of the legally-created political parties, associations and organizations.

There was an efficient cooperation between police, gendarmerie troops and sub-units of the Ministry of National Defence in the reestablishment of public order and peace, according to legal dispositions and the democratic principles of the state of law.

The Ministry of the Interior is determined to further take energetic action, in line with legal provisions, to secure public order and peace in the capital city, giving a firm riposte to any attempt to destabilize social and political life in this country.

Demonstrators Said Identified

AU2608170690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1559 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/8/1990—On the persons identified in University Square over August 23-25:

—Of the total number of identified individuals eight are minors, 59 reside in Bucharest and 21 in the countryside, 17 have a record.

—According to professional status, ten are unemployed, 49 are workers, ten are pupils, three are students, four are pensioners and four belong to other segments.

—Following the steps taken, 53 people were fined, six were sent to court, three minors were interned into a rehabilitation centre, four minors were returned to their parents, three mentally sick individuals were admitted to hospital, two people were admitted to hospital for medical care, two conscripts were returned to the National Defence Ministry garrison.

Three individuals were given warning and four people were released as they had nothing to do with the events.

Demonstrators Block Traffic

AU2608181690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] ROMPRES reports that some 100 people made up of separate groups blocked road traffic in the center of Bucharest in the area between University Square and Batiste Street. This is the fifth day in a row that instigating groups have disturbed the peace of Bucharest residents.

Bucharest's Police Inspectorate specifies that those who are blocking the flow of traffic in the University Square—some 50-60 people—are mostly minors and young people under 20 years old. Judging by their looks and conduct, they do not represent any party or association. There are fewer onlookers on the sidewalks than in past days, most of them middle aged and older people, who, through their attitudes, encourage the people in the roadway. The forces of order are prepared to reestablish the circulation of traffic. People are called upon to support the forces of order in their efforts to unblock the traffic.

[Bucharest ROMPRES in English at 1740 GMT on 26 August in a similar report adds: "Order was reestablished in University Square in Bucharest. There were no acts of violence. Order-keeping forces ensure normal traffic in the area."]

Police Quell Protest

AU2608194390 Paris AFP in English 1850 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, Aug 26 (AFP)—Police clashed with stone-throwing demonstrators here Sunday [26 August] in University Square, occupied by several hundred anti-government protestors for the fifth consecutive day, eye-witnesses said. Police arrived at the downtown square on the run in an attempt to cut off escape routes and charged the protestors using nightsticks. Several people were arrested. Plainclothes agents were also seen making arrests. Most of the demonstrators succeeded in escaping from the police. As on previous days, the police then took up positions around the square and reestablished traffic circulation.

The demonstrators have not claimed any political affiliation, but have sometimes shouted anti-communist slogans.

The Interior Ministry said in a communique released earlier Sunday that 80 people, including eight minors, were questioned after anti-government protests here last week, and added that six could face charges.

Also on Sunday, Romanian television broadcast footage previously unseen here from the military trial of Nicolae and Elena Ceaucescu, showing Elena Ceaucescu asking soldiers not to tie the couple up before their December 25 execution by firing squad.

Further on Weekend Incidents

AU2708120790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1015 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Eventful Weekend in the University Square"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—For the fourth and fifth days on end, groups of several hundreds who did not claim membership of any political or apolitical organization intermittently blocked the car traffic in the University Square in Bucharest on Saturday and Sunday, shouting anti-government and anti-communist slogans.

The order-keeping forces took energetic action managing to bring the situation back to normal over and over again.

Of 80 persons traced during the events, eight are underage, 59 are Bucharest residents, 21 live in other localities, 17 have criminal records.

As to their professions, 49 are workers, 10 disoccupied, 10 pupils, 3 students, 4 pensioners, 4 belong to other categories.

As a result of the steps taken by the order-keeping forces, 53 were fined, custody was proposed for six, three underaged were taken to the minors' reception centre, four minors were entrusted to their parents, three mentally ill were put to hospital, two were taken to hospital for medical care, two conscripts were taken to the barracks of the Ministry of National Defence.

Likewise, three were cautioned and four were set free as they had nothing to do with the events.

Militaru, Brucan on Conspiracy Against Ceausescu

AU2708094690 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Army General Nicolae Militaru and Professor Silviu Brucan by Darie Novaceanu: "The Truth and Nothing but the Truth" about the December 1989 revolution; place and date not given]

[Text] **Dissidence against Ceausescu began the moment he was appointed secretary general. Between "The Army is on our side!" and "Our revolution has been hijacked!" During the absence of the sinister couple, no one assumed the responsibility to lead the country. At a certain point Iliescu was out of the picture. Great betrayal in October 1984. The most difficult thing was to engineer a breach within the party. In 1988 Brucan formulates an alternative program to Ceausescu's policy. There was the danger of civil war. What was the attitude of the Securitate during the revolution? Why was it possible to enter the Central Committee Headquarters and the Palace without facing any resistance? Further details about the Romanian and-...foreign terrorists. What did Gorbachev know about the conspiracy against Ceausescu? General Militaru and Professor Brucan met for the first time on 22 December at the television station.**

[Brucan] We believe that the time has come to reveal the truth based on the facts and on the concept underlying them, because only in this way can one understand their meaning. In this sense we have to say that, although it was not immediately active, dissidence against Ceausescu began the moment he was appointed party secretary general. There were people who, knowing him quite well, were not enchanted at all with this appointment, but they did not know how, or rather were unable to remove him; on the other hand, he knew how to consolidate his power and succeeded in doing so very swiftly. Given this situation, the first dissidenting nucleus that functioned and was of importance was the one made up of General Ion Ionita (national defense minister from 1966-1976), Nicolae Militaru, and Stefan Kostyal. This nucleus had all kinds of projects about how to remove Ceausescu, including the use of violence. Beginning in 1983, always based on this system of three people, I had regular meetings with General Ion Ionita, and I made and preserved the link with the first nucleus.

[Novaceanu] ...linked, of course, based on the same system of three people, with two other nuclei. Therefore, a well-known and efficient type of conspiracy. I would be interested, however, in the premises from which you proceeded.

[Brucan] In our plans to overthrow the dictator Ceausescu, we started out from the premise that the dictatorship was based on three pylons: The Communist Party, the Army, and the Securitate. Any realistic plan to overthrow the dictatorship, therefore, has to cause a breach in all three bodies. We also have to specify that we viewed this conspiracy only as part of a people's revolution and not only as a simple Militaru putsch. Given the fact that the dictatorship was not only very brutal but also very efficient, we were never able to establish the necessary link between the military conspiracy and the indignant masses of the people. The two forces, therefore, advanced separately until December 1989, a fact that actually put its seal on the revolution. This explains and this is how one should understand the contradiction in December: On the one hand, the participants in the people's revolution encouraged themselves by chanting: The Army is with us, which was the result of our conspiracy, on the other hand—not knowing the nature and extent of our activity—they began to chant: Our revolution has been hijacked!

[Novaceanu] A French journalist who understood nothing about the December revolution and who does not have the faintest idea about your activity has written a book, which holds that both the military conspiracy and the people's revolution were manipulated....

[Brucan] Yes, you are talking about Michel Castex, who has actually been quoted with great pleasure—and not accidentally—by some of our press people, who are translating him as if he were a great authority on the subject. Castex holds that the manipulation was done by Gorbachev, whom he presents in his book as a superman who is doing and undoing everything in Eastern Europe, when the whole world knows that he can hardly manage things in his own country! Michel Castex beat the competition with this lie. What will a petty journalist not come up with to sell his product!

[Novaceanu] What is the truth about the conspiracy of the generals of 1983-84?

[Militaru] It has to be understood how it took place: realistically and based on the realities in our country that could have made it effective. While in the middle of the seventies General Ion Ionita, minister of national defense, and General Ion Gheorghe, chief of the M.S.M. [extension not known], reached the conclusion that a state coup against Ceausescu could be organized with the means available in our country, we—in assessing the conditions for a popular uprising—thought that these conditions were not ripe yet and that a state coup would not have been effective. In the eighties, however, the situation had changed this viewpoint: The situation of the economy was getting worse all the time, people were suffering from hunger, there was lack of heating in private homes, rationing of electricity had begun, and the political atmosphere had become intolerable.

At that point, we came to the conclusion, together with Ionita and Kostyal, that the time was favorable. We had carefully studied the situation during the earthquake in 1977 when, because of the couple's absence from power during a visit to Africa, the whole apparatus was paralyzed with its function being restored only after a telephone conversation with the tyrant.

[Novaceanu] If I remember correctly, everything "froze" during the earthquake: The radio, television, and AGERPRES. Exactly when they were needed most! Even telephones were partially out of use. Do you want to say that this was proof that the whole apparatus was paralyzed?

[Militaru] That is clear. During the absence of the couple, no one assumed complete responsibility for leading the country. Let us not forget that during the earthquake no one was able to issue a communique. That is why we thought that it was very important for us to be familiar, a long time in advance, with the couple's program of visits abroad and, therefore, we needed a link with a member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC]. We tried to forge such a link with several of the PEC members, but they refused. We finally succeeded in establishing such a link with Ioan Ursu, who provided us with the program of the visits even several months in advance. Apart from this, at that point we relied on several Army commanders and as for the main operation, we relied on a large military unit of the Bucharest Garrison and on the ammunitions depot in Tirgoviste, where our access was ensured by Colonel Lieutenant Ion Suceava.

[Novaceanu] Ceausescu's removal necessarily required that he be replaced by someone....

[Militaru] Both Ionita and I myself met with Ion Iliescu at that time, whom we, the generals, and Mr. Brucan viewed as the right man to replace Ceausescu as party leader.

[Novaceanu] A change, let us say, of the "political system" was not planned?

[Militaru] No. At the beginning we did not even think too much about such a thing. And as far as Mr. Iliescu is concerned, I think that at that time he did not think of anything else either. We actually noted his reservations about any action outside the system. This was the reason why we decided to remove him from the picture. At least for the time being, considering our plans at the time.

Later, in the past years, he proved that he had nothing in common with the communist dogmas. He insisted on a change of the system in its entirety.

[Novaceanu] What exactly were your plans?

[Militaru] Our first move was to seize and neutralize the Ceausescu nucleus within the party leadership. The second was to occupy the radio and television stations to launch an appeal to the people to revolt, without which a military action would not have had any chance.

[Novaceanu] Had you fixed the day for these actions?

[Militaru] Not very precisely. I mean not up to "D-day," so to say. Instead we had set the time of the putsch: Between 15 and 17 October 1984 when a state visit to the FRG was to take place. However, something unforeseen happened: Unexpectedly, a few days in advance, Bucharest's large military unit on which we were relying was sent off to help bring in the corn harvest while its commander was placed on reserve. This made us realize that there was a conspiracy.

[Novaceanu] Therefore, an act of treason.... Were there any other signs of a conspiracy?

[Militaru] There were several signs. Sad proof was that General Kostyal was arrested and sent off to Curtea de Arges and was forced to live there. After this we, that is Ionita and myself, were called to the Central Committee where Bobu and Postelnicu threatened us and forbid us to meet. We realized that they did not know very much about our plan. And since, according to the rules of the conspiracy, only the three of us knew about the whole plan, we realized that the informer could have known only part of the plan. And this saved us from more drastic measures.

[Novaceanu] In retrospect, how do you assess the role played by the dissident movement within the party, the Army, and Securitate in December 1989 and the revolution in Romania?

[Militaru] In retrospect, we believe that we can say that our strategy was able to engineer breaches within the Army and Securitate rather than in the Communist Party and this is the key to the whole political development (with its positive and negative aspects) during the revolution and afterward up to the present. Let us elaborate on that.

As for the Communist Party, the most courageous opposition actions were Constantin Parvulescu's statement at the Ninth Congress and Virgil Trofin's critical position at the Central Committee plenum against Ceausescu's disastrous investment in the Oltenia coal-fired thermal stations, which lacked the necessary calorie power. Of course, there have been other objections to the dictator's decisions over the years, but they took place within the system and game rules fixed by Ceausescu and did not entail drastic reprisals.

Within our strategy to engineer a breach in the party, we undertook the first actions only after 1985. In this respect, we may refer to Silviu Brucan's statement to some foreign correspondents after the memorable demonstration of Brasov workers on 15 November 1987, in which he warned the leadership against a brutal repression of the revolt and asked that, on the contrary, one should make a "sincere effort to satisfy the legitimate claims of the workers." As TIME magazine (7-12-1987) wrote: Western observers see in Brucan's action the first move designed to lead to a power struggle within the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. In 1988, Brucan gave an interview to the [Radio] Free Europe and Voice of America radio stations, in which he formulated the program of an alternative to Ceausescu's policy. And finally, in March 1989, the open letter of the six former communist dignitaries (Gheorghe Apostol, Alexandru Birladeanu, Corneliu Manescu, Constantin Parvulescu, Grigore Raceanu, and Silviu Brucan) dealt a serious blow to Ceausescu's prestige in the party and country.

All this failed, however, to produce a breach in the party's leadership, which remained docilely united around the dictator. That is why the people identified the party with Ceausescu, thus eliminating the party from Romania's political life.

[Novaceanu] On the other hand, things were quite different with the Army.

[Brucan] In the Army, as a result of the activity of Generals Ionita, Militaru, and Kostyal, of Navy Captain Rank I Radu Nicolae, and of others, a Military Resistance Committee was set up, which, in 1989, consisted of almost 20 generals and a large number of officers. They worked out plans for General Dumitru Pletos to take over the command of a mechanized division and General Paul Cheler the command of a tank division and had a whole network of higher officers in all important centers in the country and in the Air Force and the Navy. It is true, therefore, that the military units under the command of some officers still loyal to Ceausescu shot at the people that took to the streets in Timisoara, Bucharest, and other cities. Only on 22 December, when General Militaru took over the leadership of the National Defense Ministry and the command of large units was entrusted to the generals of the Military Resistance Committee, could the revolutionaries really say: The Army is with us! The idea that this 180-degree change was spontaneous is completely wrong; whoever believes in that does not understand the meaning of a military structure consolidated over a period of 20 years. In short, the dissident activities in the Army fully proved their political usefulness and played a decisive role in preventing a bloody massacre throughout the country.

[Novaceanu] So, without realizing it, we avoided the danger of a civil war. Or am I wrong?

[Brucan] We avoided it just because of the situation in the Army; no one should tarnish this image of the Army.

[Novaceanu] Well, things do not seem to be all that clear with the Securitate. Do you think that there is reason to consider it as an unsolved problem of the new administration?

[Militaru] Indeed, the breach we engineered in this third component of Ceausescu power had a dual effect: it had enormous advantages, but also nefarious consequences. First, one should make a clear-cut distinction between the three departments of the security forces: the regular troops of the Interior Ministry consisting of some 25,000 soldiers; the special elite units trained for an urban guerrilla type of war; and the repressive apparatus proper.

Our strategy concentrated on the first department, with the aim of drawing commanding officers of regular troops to our side; in this respect, one can talk about an almost complete success. As early as 1986, General Militaru established cooperation links with Colonel Penciuc, chief of staff of the Interior Ministry troops, thus entering into contact with the commanding generals of these troops. The outcome of it all was that, on 22 December, they sided with the revolution. The French journalist Michel Castex, who did not understand anything of all this, was "astounded" that—instead of being arrested and tried by a military tribunal (please note that we are talking about 25,000 soldiers and officers!)—these troops were integrated into the Army. Mr. Castex was also "shocked" by the statement made by General Vasile Ionel, the new army chief of staff: "We do not have the right to consider the security troops as terrorists. The majority of them were devoted to the people." Even in the first days of December 1989, the manifesto of the Military Resistance Committee drew attention to the fact that the security troops "should not be identified with the hooligans, assassins, and rowdies with which Ceausescu polluted them. There are—and F.M.R. [extension not known] has conclusive proof of this—many well-meaning people and true patriots in these institutions, people with a calling for this profession."

[Novaceanu] So, here is an explanation for the fact that on 22 December the youngsters and all the other people in the square were able to enter the Central Committee headquarters and the Palace, where the State Council functioned, without meeting any resistance.

[Brucan] General Militaru succeeded in establishing contact with the commanders of the battalion, which ensured the security of the Central Committee headquarters and with those who were fulfilling the same task at the State Council Palace.

[Novaceanu] I feel that we are close to some hot disclosures. Ceausescu also had other "reserves"—Securitate units placed under special commands. Are these the perpetually unidentified terrorists?

[Brucan] There were special units of snipers, organized in four groups: the Baneasa Securitate Military School led by General Nicolae Andruta Ceausescu (some 2,000 officers); U.S.L.A. (Special Unit for Antiterrorist Combat) led by Colonel Ardeleanu (some 800); the Fifth Directorate led by General Neagoe, with the main task of ensuring the security of the Ceausescu family (some 450); and the Bucharest Municipality Securitate, led by Colonel Goran (some 600). They were all telescope snipers trained in urban guerrilla tactics and equipped with the most modern automatic rifles (infrared rays), which explains why they operated only during the night.

[Novaceanu] Yes, only during the night. But they did not act at random. One may also assume that not all of them were involved, either; altogether, they numbered close to 4,000, which is forceful, and, given their level of equipment and instruction, a very strong force, indeed.

[Militaru] It is difficult to give sure answers about their participation. What is certain is that, from the very first moments, these people acted in accordance with a prearranged plan for the event of a popular uprising, a plan which entailed securing the main strategic units (including the surrounding buildings where they should deploy their guns), the civilian and military means of communication and transportation, ammunition depots, and various meeting places, including the underground tunnels, which they could enter or leave with great mobility. Some officers had two identities and keys to two apartments with supplies of food, civilian clothes, ammunition, and so forth. They were called terrorists because in the evening of 22 December they occupied positions in the buildings surrounding the party Central Committee, the Radio and Television, the Ministry of National Defense, and so forth, from where they shot indiscriminately into soldiers and civilians alike and, in some cases, tried to enter the Television headquarters, the Ministry of National Defense, and other buildings.

[Novaceanu] So, in spite of the fact that there might be other suspects, too, we admit that these were the actual terrorists. What happened with them?

[Brucan] They were arrested by the military or captured by the participants in the revolution. Others withdrew after seeing the film of the execution of the dictators on TV. But all of them were freed, particularly by the Securitate officers.

[Novaceanu] It has been said before that they were freed. But, where are they now?

[Brucan] According to our information, both the terrorists with passports and the officers of the repressive apparatus escaped across the border through Hungary and Turkey. The others did not run anywhere and are still among us.

[Novaceanu] You are saying all this with such an imperturbable calm and final certitude that it makes one wonder whether you have knowledge of other things, too. Consequently, I do not think that you can claim that there were no foreign terrorists among these terrorists. What is the truth?

[Brucan] It is high time to state that, from the very start, the Romanian terrorists received help from some foreigners—according to some information, about 30 foreigners were involved—in their majority Palestinians undergoing training at Baneasa or in other Securitate centers. Some of them were killed or wounded. Their bodies, however, disappeared at the mortuary; those in hospitals were taken away by their comrades, after operations or after having their wounds dressed, and left the country by plane.

[Novaceanu] There is nothing to add to this, because everybody has his own questions and can draw his own conclusions. Still, I thank you for admitting the existence of these foreign terrorists—were there only so few? I imagine that, in such a situation—I am talking about the day of 22 December, when you presented yourselves together before the country and took care of its destiny for a while—you adopted a certain strategy. What is the balance sheet of this strategy?

[Militaru] The balance sheet of our strategy is ambivalent: On the one hand, a powerful instrument of repression was neutralized (25,000 soldiers) that would have caused a bloodbath with tens of thousands of victims; on the other hand, a radical solution of the repressive apparatus was virtually obstructed leaving this question still open. Just a few officers were arrested and will be brought to court. Let us recall that, taking advantage of the chaos caused by the revolution, some of them succeeded in sneaking into positions of command in the Army. In the "Council of War," however, improvised in the evening of 24 December, they were exposed by Silviu Brucan and arrested shortly after that.

[Novaceanu] Numerous versions in connection with the role of some governments and foreign espionage services in the revolution appeared in the press and you, General Militaru and Professor Brucan, have been mentioned as the main actors in such contacts. What is the truth in this respect?

[Militaru] It is true that in order to implement the plan for a military coup, which I had worked out, together with Ionita, Radu, and Kostyal, we needed special silencer pistols with cartridges that put the victim instantly to sleep for some 24 hours. I approached a Soviet diplomat from the USSR Embassy in Bucharest and visited the Soviet consul in Constanta afterward for the same purpose. I must say that, although the Soviets showed great interest in our plans, the answer from Moscow was categorically negative; the Soviet diplomats were forbidden to interfere in Romanian domestic affairs. Then we tried to get them from the Romanian ambassador in Ankara, Vasile Patilinet. He agreed and he found such weapons. This required dollars, however, which we did not have.

[Novaceanu] Mr. Radu Nicolae told us about the meeting in Constanta at length. From what he said and what you are telling me now I understand that the Soviets, including Mr. Gorbachev, knew almost everything about this conspiracy. Strangely enough they did not warn Ceausescu....

[Militaru] It is not strange at all. And as for knowing, they knew everything, and they also knew the frame of mind in Romanian big enterprises, especially in those manufacturing products for the Soviet Union. Engineers—that is, Soviet specialists, specialists in everything—were constantly present in those enterprises.

[Novaceanu] Professor, did only the Soviets know? You did not travel only to Moscow....

[Brucan] I know that there have been numerous speculations in connection with my visits to Washington, London, and Moscow in 1988. True, in the three capitals I had meetings at the State Department, Foreign Office, and in Moscow in the Kremlin. They were meetings of a political nature with stress on the resistance movement in Romania, which all the people I talked to viewed with sympathy. In Moscow I also sensed the same concern with not getting involved in Romania's domestic affairs. The only thing that was promised to me was that they would take care of my personal security and, indeed, the PRAVDA correspondent in Bucharest was asked to visit me regularly, thus showing the Romanian authorities the Soviet interest in me. His name is Stanislav Petukhov. The State Department and Foreign Office did the same thing and, as a result, the U.S. and British ambassadors always tried to visit me at home during my house arrest. Although the chief investigator kept telling me that these visits were more harmful than beneficial for me, I believe that they stopped Ceausescu from resorting to drastic measures as he did with unknown dissidents abroad.

[Novaceanu] Many thanks to you, General Nicolae Militaru, and to you, Professor Silviu Brucan, for this very important conversation for completing, bit by bit, the truth which all of us have been looking for. There is another thing I am curious to know in order to understand how well this conspiracy functioned: When and where did you meet for the first time, considering that you were active in different nuclei?

[Militaru and Brucan] On 22 December on television before the whole nation....

Robu Reports on Dec Revolution Records

AU2708092790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0743 GMT 27 Aug 90

["The Picture of the Revolution—Records of December"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Romania's Prosecutor-General Gheorghe Robu presented in a news conference data on the activity of his institution. Here they are in brief:

The current activity of the Military Prosecutor's Offices over January 1-August 22, 1990:

1. Total registered—5,393 penal cases, 122 of which with the Military Procurator's Office department.
2. Total settled cases—3,535 with 4,203 authors, a) through lawsuit 455 cases with 623 authors, b) not through lawsuit 3,080 cases with 3,580 authors.
3. Total memoires, letters and complaints registered in the respective period—3,832.

4. Total settled memoires, letters and complaints—3,570.
5. Total citizens received in audience—2,242.

The stage of the investigations in the records of the December 1989 revolution (on August 22, 1990):

1. The prosecutor's office registered and made investigation into 1,218 dossiers regarding 1,456 offenders.
2. Since the beginning of the investigations to the day as many as 580 records with 834 authors were settled, including:
   a) through lawsuit—44 cases with 147 defendants, 134 of whom under arrest. The situation of the persons under arrest referred to the courts of law is as follows: nine Securitate generals, 34 Securitate officers, 47 militia officers, 5 militia NCOs [noncommissioned officers], one militia master sargeant, three Defence Ministry officers, one Defence Ministry NCO, three Defence Ministry conscripts, 44 civilians including 33 former party and state dignitaries.
   b) not through lawsuit—536 cases with 687 authors.
3. Investigations are presently going on into 638 cases with 622 authors including 10 held in custody. Of them, in 22 cases with 22 authors, two of whom are being accused and held in custody, investigations proceed in connection with actions of terrorism that resulted in the deadly wounding or hurting of persons.

The situation of those on whom lawsuit was started:

1. As many as 147 defendants were started lawsuit on, 134 of whom held in custody for offences in connection with the December 1989 revolution. Of the defendants on whom lawsuit started: 43 were referred to the Supreme Court of Justice and 104 were referred to military courts and extraordinary courts of law.
2. Of those on whom lawsuit started, 79 defendants were tried and their situation is as follows: 30 were sentenced to terms in prison, seven were acquited, 15 with records referred back to procurator's offices for more investigation, one desisted penal prosecution as a result of amnesty.
3. As many as 69 defendants are being tried under arrest.
4. Of those under trial 27 are former party and state dignitaries and seven are former Securitate generals.

* Law on Illicit Trade Activities Reported

90BA0278D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Law on Protecting the Population Against Illicit Business"]

[Text] The Romanian parliament adopts the present law:

Article 1—The former activities are viewed as illicit business and their perpetrators will incur the measures envisaged in the present law:

a) carrying out trade without fulfilling the legal conditions concerning commercial activities or having the legal object of the business violated by the people engaged in the respective business;
b) reselling at a higher price goods purchased at retail, state, or cooperative trade units; reselling goods purchased from a retail dealer other than those mentioned above, at a price 10 higher than the buying price. If the goods are further processed without thereby creating a new product, or repackaged, or stored, etc., the price may be more than 20 percent higher.
c) purchasing products from restaurants, coffee shops, bars, cafeterias, tourist or other similar outlets for the purpose of reselling them;
d) purchasing for the purpose of reselling products envisaged to be delivered under balance sheet tasks, with the exception of legally determined cases;
e) stockpiling foodstuffs for the purpose of creating market shortages and reselling them later;
f) selling products purchased in the conditions cited under c and d, or products stockpiled as under point e;
g) agreements among retail dealers to sell at prices higher than the market prices;
h) concealing, altering, or destroying papers or documents, not recording wares and keeping two sets of books for income or other tax evasion purposes;
i) sale of goods by dealers in places other than those authorized by city halls or in conditions other than those stipulated in licenses;
j) making the sale of one product conditional on the purchase of another product;
k) any other means used by a dealer to create market shortages of consumer goods.

Article 2—The earnings derived from the activities listed under Article 1 points i, b, and f are subject to a tax equal to the value of those earnings.

A 95-percent tax will be levied on earnings derived from the sale of goods for which the dealer cannot show proof of origin.

The provisions of paragraph 2 will also be applied to foreign goods subject to custom duties by law, for which the persons or institutions who brought them in do not have a customs document.

Article 3—Fines will be imposed on the following petty offenses, if they do not constitute penal crimes:

a) between 5,000-10,000 lei for the cases listed under Article 1, points i and j;
b) between 10,000-50,000 lei for the cases listed under Article 1, points i, j, g, and k;
c) an amount equal to the tax not paid, which will be paid together with the tax itself, for the case listed under Article 1, point h;
d) between 20,000-60,000 lei for the cases listed under Article 1, points a, c, and d.

The sanctions envisaged for the cases listed under Article 1, points c, d, and e will also be applied if the goods have already been sold.

The goods involved in the cases listed under Article 1 point c, d, and e found in the possession of the offender on the date of discovery will be confiscated.

Article 4—Aside from the dealer, equally punishable are the persons employed in private businesses, commercial associations, cooperative units, or any other state organizations or units, who conspired with the dealer to commit the respective offense.

The persons listed in the previous paragraph will be subject to the same fine as that levied on the dealer.

Article 5—The offenses envisaged under Article 3 points a, b, and d are verified by city hall or county employees or their representatives and by police bodies, and the offense cited under Article 3 point c by employees of the regional state financial inspectorates delegated by the respective inspectorate.

The persons delegated to verify the offense will apply the fine and will also confiscate the goods envisaged under Article 3, paragraph 3.

Article 6—The provisions of the present law are complemented by the provisions of Law No. 32/1968 concerning the apprehension and punishment of offenses.

Article 7—City halls will establish a commercial control body for the purpose of monitoring commercial activities in keeping with the provisions of the law.

The city halls which are to establish commercial control bodies, the duties and organizational structure of the control bodies, and the salaries of commercial inspectors will be established by a governmental decision.

Article 8—The provisions of article 295, point c and d of the Penal Code; Articles 70-87 of Law No. 3/1972 on domestic trade and any other conflicting provisions will be abrogated on the date of publication of the present law.

This law was adopted by the House of Deputies at its 31 July 1990 meeting and by the Senate at its 31 July 1990 meeting.

On the basis of Article 82 point M of the Decree-Law No. 92-1990 on the election of the Parliament and the president of Romania, the law was promulgated by Romania's president, Mr. Iliescu.

Nicu Ceausescu Trial Ends; 'Not Guilty' Pleaded

AU2408180290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1710 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/8/1990—The debates in the trial of defendant Nicu Ceausescu held at Sibiu by the Bucharest Territorial Military Court for genocide and failure to observe the regime of arms and ammunition came to an end on August 24.

Surveying the evidences produced during the penal and court investigation, meant to establish the truth, the prosecutor maintained in connection with the former charge that the facts for which the defendant was tried did have the features of the crime of genocide and demanded that he be punished according to the provisions of the penal legislation. The representative of the accusers said he was satisfied that the charge was proven, namely that the defendant, in his former capacity as first secretary of the Sibiu County RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Committee ordered fire without warning against the demonstrators in Sibiu City and other localities of the county. The compliance of the former local Securitate and militia with that order resulted in the death of 89 persons and wounding of other 218. The prosecutor assessed that both during penal investigation and examination in court the defendant had tried to shun the truth, his statements being to a great extent not sincere and contradicted the actual facts.

The defendant's lawyer rejected the prosecutor's statement, considering the charges as groundless and not proven. She pleaded for the defendant's acquittal, assessing that the grave consequences of the December 1989 events in Sibiu could not be blamed on him, as his activity and attitude on those moments, the way they showed also in the analysis of the evidences produced, proved his innocence.

In his last statement, Nicu Ceausescu pleaded not guilty, denying he committed the deeds he was accused of. He alleged that not only did he not order the bloody repression of the peaceful demonstration in Sibiu, but on the contrary, he permanently ordered that the demonstrators be not fired at. Highlighting however the tragical sum-up of the events late last year in the county he was heading then, the defendant considered that all along the trial he did his best for the truth to be found out and hoped that the sentence the court would pronounce would be fair.

Closing the debates, the court adjourned the pronouncement of the sentence for September 21, 1990 at the headquarters of the Bucharest Territorial Military Court.

The court told the defendant that, since the prosecutor appealed against the decision to call off the custody, endorsed in the session of August 23, he was to report to the Court Headquarters on September 21, 1990 if the prosecutor's appeal would be ruled out and the defendant himself set free.

Power, Fuel Supplies for Winter Viewed

AU2408183290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1750 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/8/1990—Prime Minister Petre Roman of Romania analyzed on August 24 with responsible factors the situation of the population's supply with electricity, heat and fuels for the winter time.

It was stressed that the fuel supply would meet completely the population's demand. An important financial effort would be made to that effect, in view of increasing the production capacity at coal and providing for free currency for import. At firewood, although the consumption demand is not covered completely, the deliveries for the fourth quarter of the year will be some 20 percent bigger than last year in the same period and with gas cylinders the deliveries will go up 40-50 percent over last year. The electricity and heat demand of the population will be met entirely, with rises of some 25 percent over the 1989-1990 winter.

The program of securing electricity for the national economy, stipulates besides internal production for the fourth quarter of 1990 also imports worth some 24 million dollars for mineral coal, lignite and brown coal and 38 million dollars for electricity. In view of securing the necessary amount of oil for the economy and the population's consumption, imports were also stipulated, worth 270 million dollars a month at the current prices in the world market.

Roman Decision on Technical-Material Supplies

AU2408183390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1715 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/8/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman has issued a decision on measures to organize actions for technical-material supply and for refloating and increasing production and export in the period ahead.

According to the decision, the industrial departments shall organize consultations with the administration boards of the enterprises over August 27-31, inviting also Trade Union leaders of the respective units. Stress shall be laid on the need to speed up the organization of the commercial societies and autonomous units, on ensuring the supply and sale in the period of transition to complete autonomy of the enterprises based on a strictly necessary number of material sums-up elaborated by the Ministry of Resources and Industry and by departments, as well as on the necessity to increase the production and strictly correlating the number of employees with the production actually being turned out.

Discussed and elucidated will also be the questions regarding the export of products and its increase, in view of achieving the necessary sources for foreign currency to cover the import. Problems related to the modernization and re-equipment of the manufacturing and to the speedier conclusion of the cooperation ventures with foreign companies will also be touched.

The decision also shows that, in consideration of the country's energy balance measures shall be discussed and established for strict compliance with the quotas assigned. Also, measures shall be analyzed for the employment of the raw materials according to the technologies set for remunerative activities. The conclusions to be drawn from that action shall be analyzed in departments and the Ministry of Resources and Industry.

PSDR Stance on Economic, Social Issues Viewed

AU2408170090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1403 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/8/1990—The Romanian Democratic Socialist Party [PSDR] suggests the parliament to create a national social-protection fund. It is the opinion of the aforesaid party that the shock-therapy envisaged in the government's programme-statement is not the most suitable for a people whose standard of living places at the lowest level.

Deputy Cornel Nica, spokesman for the party, warned during a press conference that such an approach to the issue would lead to specific social convulsions and stated for a passage to the market economy wherein lower incomes could buy a decent life.

According to Mr. Nica, given the raw materials shortage the law of the transformation of enterprises in autonomous units and commercial companies, which the parliament passed recently, deals with the form rather than with the content of the problem. Their autonomy, though limited, actually represents a transfer of responsibilities.

As for another law which the parliament adopted, namely that concerning speculation control, Mr. Nica opined that it showed the government lacked knowledge of the mechanism of the so-called democratic trade and asked the Army to help the police through the agency of the military police. Owing to numerous infractions of law the police should be strengthened in point of both staff and facilities.

On the other hand, the RDSP spokesman requested the government to more thoroughly approach the issue of the Magyar and Romany minorities. In this respect, he said: Part of the Magyar minority and, unfortunately, even some of its leaders materially and morally support a number of extremists in Hungary and in Diaspora whose so-called cultural claims are actually political claims.

In the May 20 elections the Romanian Democratic Socialist Party got 1.05 percent of the vote, that is roughly two times more than Sergiu Cunescu's Romanian Social Democratic Party (0.53 percent), that claims to be a continuator of the traditions of Romanian pre-Communist social democracy and that concluded an electoral understanding with another two historical parties: The National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party, now called one Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party. The RDSP has five deputies in the parliament and the Social Democratic Party only two. This shift in position, which observers found surprising, was attributed to the fact that right after the revolution the RDSP was supported by a weekly called "GLASUL" (the voice), while the SDP brought out its press organ only on the eve of the elections.

New Customs Directorate Officials Appointed

AU2308193190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—The Ministry of Finance appointed Mr. Eugen Vasiliu as director-general of the General Customs Directorate of Romania. Mr. Grigore Craciun and Mr. Gheorghe Badescu were appointed deputy directors-general.

This step is part of an action aimed at reorganizing the customs structures of Romania, at improving activities in this area.

'Severe Drought' Seriously Effects Harvests

AU2408164490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1420 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/8/1990—A severe drought swept Romania in July and August, most adversely affecting its southern and western parts. There were hardly any rainfalls and temperatures on the surface of the soil went as high as 55 and 64 degrees centigrade. Therefore, the growth of maize, sunflower, soy beans and other cultures was negatively influenced. Furthermore, maize, sugar beet and grapes dehydrated. Growth rates in fodder cultures dropped and pastures and hayfields went dry.

Weather continues to be droughty and the state of vegetation continues to worsen. Lack of humidity in the soil render ploughing and soil-preparation works difficult. Moreover, with sources depleted, the supply of potable water for animals is difficult.

Kuwait Embassy Open; Receiving Water, Electricity

AU2708142590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Radio stations in the Gulf region report that the situation in Kuwait is relatively peaceful. The city is being patrolled by Iraqi soldiers who are generally behaving in a correct fashion toward foreigners.

The Yugoslav Embassy in Kuwait is open. Our diplomatic mission is receiving water and electricity as normal, and local telephone lines are working, which is not the case in many other embassies.

Envoy Instructed To Remain

LD2508130890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—TANJUG has learned from the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Relations that it forwarded instructions to Yugoslav Ambassador to Kuwait Hasan Dervisbegovic to remain in that country. This decision is consistent with the Yugoslav decision not to recognize the annexation of Kuwait.

Government To Implement Sanctions

LD2508103390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0808 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] United Nations, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia on Friday night [24 August] replied to the note of U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar requesting Yugoslav views on the implementation of the U.N. Security Council resolution on economic sanctions against Iraq.

Informing Perez de Cuellar on accepting the resolution, the Yugoslav Government announced also its decision to withhold all shipments to Iraq, suspend imports from this country, reduce the number of Yugoslav workers in Iraq and Kuwait and freeze Iraqi assets in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government also announced it finds the annexation of Kuwait unacceptable and supports the integrity and sovereignty of this country and its legitimate government.

The Yugoslav Government stated concern over the safety of Yugoslav nationals in Iraq and Kuwait. A total of some 40 Yugoslavs remained in Kuwait, while an estimated 6,000 are still in Iraq.

The U.N. secretary-general was informed about the large losses the Yugoslav economy was sustaining as it observed the U.N. resolution. The Yugoslav Government assesses that Yugoslavia would lose over one billion dollars due to the blockade.

Iraqi Envoy Tells Loncar of 'Great Difficulties'

LD2708132490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today received special Iraqi envoy, Samal Majid Faraj, minister of planning.

The Iraqi minister explained his government's concern about the Gulf crisis and expressed belief that Yugoslavia, in its capacity as presiding member of the Nonaligned Movement, together with other nonaligned countries, can take further action to prevent the confrontation from escalating. He also spoke about the great difficulties Iraq is facing at the moment.

The federal secretary for foreign affairs said that Yugoslavia has been aware, since the very beginning, of the seriousness of the situation and that its efforts are directed toward preventing the current crisis—following the Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait—from turning into a confrontation which might bring about serious consequences for the entire world. Budimir Loncar also pointed out the constant efforts and readiness of Yugoslavia, as the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, to continue its actions in a constructive way. He stressed that the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the establishment of that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity is the first precondition for resolving the crisis. Only this can create the conditions for starting negotiations and resolving other controversial issues in the area, Loncar said.

The federal secretary stressed once again that Yugoslavia firmly upholds the UN Security Council resolution regarding the latest crisis in the Gulf, which provides a possibility of avoiding armed conflict and of paving the way for a peaceful solution.

Budimir Loncar expressed once again Yugoslavia's readiness to be further involved in efforts to resolve the emerging situation peacefully, stressing that Iraq has to create the preconditions for a political solution to the crisis by its withdrawal from Kuwait.

Closed Roads, Armed Civilians Reported in Knin

AU2508153690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Milos Rajkovic report from Knin]

[Text] The people of the Knin region followed yesterday's extraordinary session of the Croatian Assembly with visible indignation. Although there were no illusions that the republican parliament will change the (?inflexible) official policy on Serbian autonomy, the sharp speeches by some members of the Croatian leadership increased tension among people even more.

Therefore, all roads in the region were closed last night, and vital buildings in Knin are guarded by armed civilians.

The greatest concern reigns in the leading collective here, the Tvik Screws Plant, which with its 3,000 workers is the vehicle of economic development in this region. Due to the Split Bank's freezing of this plant's account three days ago, production is slowly coming to an end, which will have considerable effect on all spheres of life in the Knin region.

Because of the Tvik blockade, the communal Trade Union Council has sent protest telegrams to the Trade Union Federations of Yugoslavia and Croatia, and to the Croatian Government.

A conference of the Knin railroad men's trade union was held last night. The railroad men gave the Croatian Republican Government three weeks within which, jointly with the Split Bank, it should find a solution for Tvik. The railroad men resolved that otherwise they will take much sharper measures, which in plain language means that they will go on strike.

Yesterday's session of the Croatian Assembly obviously did not bring any peace to the Knin region. For days we have been able to see in every place that the people here are not prepared to make the slightest concession to the current Croatian policy.

'Village Watches' Continue

AU2608165090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Dragan Stavljanin report]

[Text] It has continued to be relatively peaceful today in the Knin region. However, in other parts of Croatia where Serbs are a minority and where the referendum on autonomy is also being organized, not even this weekend has passed without incident. Dragan Stavljanin has the details:

[Begin Stavljanin recording] Sunday is a quiet day, a day of rest both for Catholics and Orthodox. This is at least something on which Serbs and Croats agree and there have been no spectacular political events. The people have used today to catch their breath and anticipate what next week will bring.

The referendum in the Knin region has, so to speak, ended. The [words indistinct] began today. The Serbs' referendum on autonomy in towns where Croats are in a majority has not taken place without incident.

In Zagreb, all the entrance doors have been [word indistinct] where the referendum is being organized, [words indistinct], and members of the Croatian constabulary have taken away the ballot papers. The same thing also happened in Sisak where the constabulary entered the office of the Orthodox Church and confiscated documentation for the referendum. However, as a representative of the Serbian Democratic Party stated at a news conference, the referendum has continued in both towns.

It is only momentarily quiet in [word indistinct] where a very tense situation has been created by various rumors. There is, for example, the rumor that Slovenia has sent [words indistinct] to Croatia.

Village watches are still being organized in Serbian towns where people have been fearful of an attack by the Croatian constabulary in the region, particularly since the session that was held the day before yesterday by the Croatian Assembly.

Last night on the border of [word indistinct] in the Knin commune we saw a village watch, but only half a kilometer away there were members of the constabulary, including civilians armed with automatic weapons. The fact that Serbs here are organizing villages watches—which is what the Croatian media is reproaching them for—while not forgetting other aspects of life has been confirmed by the publication of the magazine of the Serbian Zora organization and a book on the Knin region, which will be promoted in the next few days.

Voter Response in Referendum Exceeds Expectations

LD2608150190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1310 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Some 13,000 persons of Serbian nationality in the Knin region, Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, came out to vote at a Serbian autonomy referendum in Croatia, thus exceeding all expectations, states on Sunday [26 August] Dusan Vjestica, member of the central commission for the implementation of the autonomy referendum.

According to initial results, the majority has voted "in favor." The leadership of Croatia has declared the referendum unconstitutional, after which the Serbs organized (?armed) patrols at approaches to areas with a predominantly Serbian population.

The autonomy referendum was organized by the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), one of the most influential parties among the Serbs in Croatia.

The SDS spokesman, Ognjen Ignjatovic, announced in Knin on Sunday that "establishing contacts between the authorities in Croatia and the SDS for official negotiations between the two sides was underway."

Croatian Assembly Holds 'Extraordinary Session'

To Review 'Disturbances'

LD2408182790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Aug TANJUG—At its extraordinary session devoted to the current political situation in connection with disturbances in some Croatian municipalities and the measures taken so far, the Croatian Assembly is examining a draft resolution on the protection of national rights in Croatia and the constitutional and democratic system.

Of 54 delegates, 40 have already taken part in the afternoon's discussion. The majority of these delegates, from both the ruling HDZ (Croatian Democratic Community) and the left-wing opposition, supported the draft resolution for settling the situation, brought about by the Serbian referendum and the latest events in Knin, peacefully and in a poltical and democratic way. The Assembly heard various assessments of the causes of and reasons for the crisis sitation, from categorical claims that the plan was conducted and inspired by people outside Croatia, to assessments claiming that this was a spontaneous movement by the Serbian people provoked by the government's attempts to forcefully prevent its referendum on autonomy.

In the draft resolution prepared during an interparty consultation, which is expected to be adopted this evening, we read about resolve for the defense of republican sovereignty and about the Croatian Assembly's resolute intention to guarantee all human, political, and national rights to Croatians, Serbs, and other nations and minorities living in Croatia.

Tudjman Addresses Assembly

LD2408171890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0752 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at "extraordinary" session of the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] A representative of the left wing has recently said that in my first address to this Assembly I spoke in favor of strict respect for democratic principles and Assembly procedures. I stood and will stand for this, but I also want to remind you that I was forced to take the floor a month ago—regardless of the procedures and regardless of my plans—after the need for formulating a new constitution became clear, and to speak about the political situation in Croatia. That is, I violated the regular procedure to inform you that the new Croatian democratic authorities were facing a conspiracy, aimed at toppling the current authorities, Kosovize Croatia, abolish democracy in Croatia and even in Slovenia, and to prevent a democratic transformation from taking place throughout Yugoslavia.

I was enticed into committing this procedural violation by some occurrences and hints in the two deputy clubs of the Assembly. They did not take into account all the elements of the conspiracy that were already in the making and of which we already knew. If the deputies [passage indistinct]. And particularly the Croatian Government and the state leadership of Croatia must take into account both the internal and international sphere [passage indistinct].

In such circumstances one allows for the fact that we cannot fully observe the formalities of both the Assembly and others, but we must take those measures which are needed to enable us to be up to the task with which we are charged by the people. [passage indistinct] In the past seven days, since that mysterious assembly in Knin which represented unknown people; it was only known that it was led by the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] and the persons elected to the Serbian National Council and those who led it. But one could not know at all who was preparing the so-called referendum, polling, etc. This was just an excuse to facilitate open disobedience, open violence, and armed insurrection. During these eight days, new Croatia has been subject to great [words indistinct]. I believe that the Croatian democracy has passed yet another test, at the price of very [words indistinct], though.

The price that will be borne by all Croatia and particularly these areas which succumbed to various emissaries and their open Chetnik and great-Serbian ambitions and to those who embarked on the planned illegal activity of fooling the Serbian population in Croatia, of scaring it and creating such a situation whereby not only a part of the Serbian population but a part of the Croatian population in these areas, as well as the Croatian people in general, were very upset as they feared the outcome.

Refusals to obey the government in power, attacks on police stations, calls for the Army and voluntary units to intervene, and even more announcements that hundreds of thousands of volunteers will come to Croatia, have really nothing to do with democracy and with demands for civil and national rights for Serbs in Croatia. When assuming power, we not only recognized all constitutional rights hitherto guaranteed to the Serbian population in Croatia, but we also made it clear that we will give them all civil and national rights they have not enjoyed to this point which can be granted to any nationality in any democratic country. In Croatia we want to do the same for the Serbs in Croatia. These stances and appeals to representatives of the Serbian [word indistinct] to state what they want did not meet with understanding. Instead, representatives of the SDS put themselves in service to the scenario—as I mentioned before—aimed at destroying democracy not only in Croatia, at restoring the one-party federal system and at halting democracy and setting up some centralistic-unitaristic Yugoslavia or a Greater Serbia. In this respect, I must pay tribute to representatives of the Serbian nationality in the left-wing bloc who stayed loyal to us and who took part in the work of the Croatian Assembly.

The question arises: Why did we have talks with Raskovic, when he represents only five deputies, that is, one-fifth or one-sixth of all deputies? Here is why: Because these radical Serbian extremists from Croatia, and even more so from Serbia, did not regard communists as their true representatives. They told me and wrote to me that they were not Serbs, but communists. For the sake of real democracy and out of desire to secure the real sovereignty of the Croatian nation and grant all rights to Serbs, we said: All right, we offer the post of Assembly vice president to you who consider yourselves real representatives of the Serbian people. This was the best sign that we did not want to discriminate against anyone, but, on the contrary, that we wanted to ensure all civil and national rights in accordance with international principles and the Assembly's desire to implement them.

However, the talks with Mr. Raskovic yielded no results. In the talks with myself and others, he expressed willingness to recognize that the Croatian people want to see the new government in power and that the Croatian people have a right to their sovereignty. But he demands that the Serbian people have their sovereignty. We did not question this. We said: Of course. We want to ensure the sovereignty of the Croatian nation, so that the Croatian people for once enjoy equal rights in their homeland, and we will recognize all your rights, and you should give us specific proposals concerning this. Raskovic himself was elusive and ambivalent. He made statements to the effect that the Croatian nation has the right to democracy, but also that he is powerless.

Following talks with us, he changed his tune and subscribed to the scenario which wanted to exploit the Serbs in Croatia for its aim of halting democratic transformation not only in Croatia but, as I mentioned, throughout Yugoslavia and of obstructing the agreement reached in principle between the Yugoslav and republican Presidencies to make in a democratic manner a contract on new interethnic and interrepublican relations.

Regarding this I would like to answer those deputies and particularly those among the Croatian public who maintain that it was our mistake to have held talks with Raskovic. I believe that what I have said negates, on the strength of evidence, this kind of academic speculation. In this way we have proved both to the Serbs in Croatia and to the Yugoslav and world public that we want no discrimination, that we do not want to discriminate against even the most radical Serbian views so long as they fit in with democratic considerations and our search for democratic solutions. The fact that the SDS leadership, supported by the great-Serb hegemonist and unitarist public, that is the media, emissaries, and activists etc., had managed to scare a considerable number of Serbs in the Knin area, bears witness that the Serbs in Croatia [words indisinct].

A letter written by 47 individuals has been read in the Assembly. Some of its authors contacted me personally and said that for the time being they did not want me—and could not afford—to know their names. We will publicize them—well, God knows when. Put down our signatures instead of us, they say, because they are threatened with dynamite, bombs, knives and daggers, for, as they write, their children are in the Army. Nevertheless they are aware that only a genuine democracy and genuine Croatian authorities can guarantee their lives.

I have not read the interview Mr. Milos Vuckovic granted to VJESNIK today. Nevertheless, I believe that this wise man, an honest man, a Serb, who has been a member of the Presidency of the Croatian Republic since the beginning, also revealed the truth about how we have been trying since the very outset to find principled democratic solutions for all citizens in Croatia. I assume that he did it this way. As I said, I have not read it. I do not believe that he would say something else in light of the fact that he attends the Presidency's sessions with us.

There is also the fact that the left-wing deputies are present, occupying their seats. This means that there are sensible people among the Serbs in Croatia too, the ones whose great majority, I believe, will invest their efforts in ensuring mutual coexistence based on democratic foundations.

Apart from this, I am going to inform you about something that some of you, or maybe all of you, in the Assembly already know, but the public does not. After more than a month when we became aware that those talks with Raskovic and the SDS had in fact led nowhere and that he was not adhering even to his own words in the name of democracy, I personally told the left-wing representative that I would propose someone from their ranks, a Serbian deputy, to assume the post of Assembly vice president. I regret that this was not done as early as then, a month ago, and that this has not been done since. I call on you, in this place and at this moment, to do so.

Consequently, the state and political leadership of Croatia present no obstacle for the Serbs to play a full part in the work of the Assembly and in democratically resolving their problems in Croatia.

In these days of crisis Croatia has been encountering difficult moments but it has also experienced a greater degree of unity, despite the concern of all democratic elements, than it has [words indistinct]. The Croatian democracy has matured even more, and if what the Assembly received is anything to judge by—no fewer than hundreds of thousands of telegrams from all areas and individuals, individual telegrams and those signed by groups, and irrespective of party differences, the Presidency of the Republic also received them—then this really reflects the unity of the Croatian people and their determination to persevere in their democatic transformation, in the efforts to organize Croatia as a free and democratic country.

I believe that in the wake of these events we have shown that we are already one of the freest countries in the world. We knew that the reputation of the authorities was going to be partly damaged unless we met this armed rebellion with arms. But we also knew that if we did it we were going to be able to individually crush this armed rebellion. This would, however, have resulted in bloodshed, something they desired, thus paving the way to civil war, provoking military intervention and proving that the democracy in Croatia is not a democracy after all but rather something they claim it to be, that is, their likening of the new democratic authorities in Croatia to the Ustashas and the NDH [Independent State of Croatia—wartime Croatian quisling state].

This is the crucial problem. The Serbs in Croatia must understand in their own interest that the Republic of Croatia is the republic and national state of the Croatian people who seek within it their sovereignty and their equality, such that they have not fully experienced in the single-party system so far. [prolonged applause]

But we have said and will repeat again: We wish to ensure Croats such equality so as to enable him to be equal in those very sensitive services, ranging from policy to financial services, television, etc. We wish to ensure such a form of equality to make him equal, disposses anyone of higher rights and to forestall such a situation which had not only been causing concern and discomfort among the Croatian people, but also prompted them to emigrate around the world since they knew that certain services were closed to the Croatian in Croatia, whereas the Serbs' proportion among the most responsible duties in these sensitive services exceeded three, four, five, sixfold their share in the national structure. This is why the Serbs in Croatia must understand that this may well have provided certain individuals with some temporary material benefits but that on a larger scale it inflicted damage on the Serbian, the Serbian population, since it was not creating conditions for a lasting democratic coexistence on Croatian soil.

Consequently, this is the only thing the new Croatian authorities proclaimed: the sovereignty of the Croatian people and also the equality of all, including the Croatians, and guarantees to the Serbian population. We were aware, and still are, that formal limits will not be set concerning their proportion of the population; we do not desire any kind of retributive response. Therefore, those bogus emissaries, those false advocates of Serbness, those who proclaimed that this amounted to Ustashaness and an NDH, abused our wish to be sovereign, by lying to and scaring the Serbian population, thus stirring concerns among the Croatian population too, particularly in those areas where this rebellious movement was spreading and where the Croatian suddenly asked himself: What is happening? Am I left at the hands of great-Serbian excesses? Am I left alone to confront all those Chetnik hordes who are coming to Croatia only to daub: This is Serbia, etc?

You see, in such a situation we kept our cool; we did not let ourselves be involved in bloodshed, in a civil war. We knew that the Yugoslav and the world public would find out the truth and that we would be capable of establishing democratic power. Of course, having declared ourselves in favor of democracy, Croatians could not impose a legal ban on excesses on Croatian territory—even such excesses that in effect called for the resurgence, in other words for the spreading of Ustasha slogans by individuals, or even attempts as a plebiscite for the creation of the NDH. In conditions when the Chetnik movement in Yugoslavia is developing, when they even came to Croatia with their slogans, with not only the slogans but also their program, when they continue to publish geographic maps which show almost all of Croatia, all the way to the sea, included in the Serbian states—in such conditions Croatia, having declared itself in favor of democracy, could not therefore resort to the forceful suppression of extreme Croatian phenomena of which we do not approve and which we will not allow in official Croatian policy, because ultimately they could lead to a situation in which these scenario-makers could prevent the constitutional and democratic transformation and sovereignty of the Croatian republic. [sentence as heard]

In this connection, I mean—we talked about this in the most recent statement of the republican Presidency—it must be said that this deception, intimidation, and thus the incitement of the Serbian population in Croatia to take up arms, was assisted by a certain indecisivenes on the part of the federal government—and to a certain extent, as the president of the government said in his speech, although maybe in rather strong terms, because a part, it cannot be said that it was only the Yugoslav Presidency in general that acted negatively in this way—but certain actions, certain actions, for example as the president of the government noted, the inaugural speech of Mr. Jovic, which he later renounced to a large extent in the Assembly, and in particular the reception of the delegation, as they themseles said in their statement, of all Serbs, encouraged, gave encouragement to the ringleaders of the disobedience, the ringleaders of revolt among the Serbian population, which also means that they introduced alarm among the Croatian population.

However, it is imporant that the Yugoslav Presidency recognized the legitimacy, the legality, of the new Croatian government, that it condemned and expressly came out against any creation of a parallel government, against any creation of armed units or illegally armed guards, outside the law. This is what is important, and should be openly recognized by us, and the public should be acquainted [words indistinct]. In the same way, it is important—as was stated at the last session of the Yugoslav Presidency, at which I was also present—that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] resolutely dissociated itself from any participation, any kind of participation and involvement in any scenario against the legal democratic government in Croatia.

Yesterday, the federal secretary expressly stated that the persons—that is the military personnel—who were involved in any way in this revolt will be called to account, and that investigative proceedings have already been set in motion against them. Therefore—and this is the important thing—this provides hope that we in Croatia will, with such principled behavior—we, that is the federal organs, and of course, it should be mentioned that prior to this meeting the Presidency of the federal government also issued a statement to this effect—will be capable of resolving this uprising by legal means, and of reestablishing legal and constitutional order throughout the republic.

Therefore, at this moment, the most important task is to dispel the illusions of the Serbian people who have succumbed to lies, misinformation, and threats, to convince them that there is no danger from the Croat democratic authorities, to ask them to immediately return their arms. If they do so, they will not be called to account. Only those leaders who served [word indistinct] advocated terrorism, and do not give it up, will be called to account. This means a return to peaceful life and work, and to participate constructively in resolving the situation. I also appeal to our organs—to be precise, the ones here in the Assembly—and all the organs of the new democratic power, from the government to municipal administrations and local communities, to show a broadness of mind and an understanding that it was the force of circumstances that led to some Serbs being led astray and frigthened, and also not to allow any revanchism, and to be extremely (?broad-minded) and exert joint efforts to find a solution and [word indistinct]. Therefore—democracy, all the rights—but also a resolve to establish a legal system, and in this respect we will have no [words indistinct]. I think we already have support from the European and world public, as well as the support expressed through the public information media, even the ones [passage indistinct].

In my capacity as president of the Croatian Republic, I invite all the people in the world who are interested to come and see for themelves—either governmental or nongovernmental organizations, or individuals—those who are interested in democracy—and as you know, both Europe and the world are today [word indistinct]. Let them come to Croatia and see for themelves what Croatian power and Croatian democracy want, who is opposing it, and for what reason. [applause] As I already said, the way in which they tried to destabilize Croatia and to Kosovize Croatia at the time when all human and citizens' rights were truly abolished in this province, cannot be described in the world and in international law in any other terms than as terrorism. I am therefore convinced that this cannot be judged in any different way, and I am also convinced that the majority of indoctrinated Serbian people in these parts will see their mistake and accept the well-intentioned hand of cooperation and coexistence with the Croatian people. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, I express the firm conviction that we will emerge from this crisis situation in such a way that the Republic of Croatia will gain even greater respect, both in the framework of Yugoslavia and in the world. The unity the Croatian people achieved should be preserved, but not for the sake of some kind of totalitarianism. Far from it. Rather, in order for us to emerge from this turning point and crucial historic period as a sovereign nation, as a republic, to ensure the sovereignty of Croats, and also the sovereignty of all citizens who live in Croatia and consider Croatia their homeland. Already today, and we can be proud of this, we are one of the freest countries in Europe and the world, and we will continue to be in the future.

We have been discussing the reputation of this new Croatia for the past 90 days or so; not quite three months. In the past three months we have gained such a reputation that the representatives of our government and I, as president of the republic, have invitations for state visits at the highest levels in several countries in Europe and the world, which is also evidence of the fact that we will have the support of the world public. And in the present circumstances, when the world is, as journalists like to put it, a global village, this is of not small, but rather great importance. Because of the very fact that the world is so much united, and because it has been so much involved in the Gulf crisis, there were those who thought they would be able, at least by surprise, to topple the new democratic government in Croatia and thus stop or divert global democratic processes. But they failed to succeed in that, and it is to the merit of the Republic of Croatia.

I believe that we, on the basis of the new experience, both in the work of this Assembly, the government, and the Croatian Presidency, will have enough prudence to perform all historic duties, and by the reestablishment of the destroyed order in the relevant municipalities will, as soon as possible, employ all our strength in the cultural and economic development of our country, because it is democracy that we gained, not the new government. I do not doubt that this Assembly, the government, and the Presidency, and all bodies of the new Croatian government will succeed in this. Thank you.

Resolution on Knin Adopted

LD2508092690 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2150 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Summary] The session of the Croatian Assembly has ended after 15 hours of work. A resolution in connection with recent events in Knin was adopted with four abstentions.

Text of Resolution Broadcast

LD2508165590 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2149 GMT 24 Aug 90

["Resolution on the Protection of Constitutional and Democratic Order and National Rights in Croatia" read by Ivan Zekic, president of the Croatian Sociopolitical Chamber, at the Croatian Assembly session in Zagreb on 24 August—recorded]

[Text] The Resolution on the Protection of Constitutional and Democratic Order and National Rights in Croatia:

1. At a time when decisive historic processes of state socialism are disappearing all over the world and at a time when law-governed states and legislative democracies are developing throughout East Europe, Yugoslavia's dogmatic and hegemonist forces started defending the old order through every means possible. In supressing the democratic reformist trends by force they are using unconstitutional, illegal, and illegitimate methods, including inciting national confrontations and armed rebellions. The leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] has also taken part in the framework of this scenario which encourages anticonstitutional actions and violence, manipulates the people, and creates an atmosphere in Croatia of fear and threats.

While carrying out the aggressive policy of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution, mounting pressures, threatening, and using other illegal means, it [the SDS] is in effect using the results of the free democratic elections and toppling legally elected bodies in some municipalities, thus obstructing the functioning of a law-governed state. Citizens of Croatia elected their legal authorities in multiparty elections. No one has the right to threaten these authorities with violent methods and to obstruct their constitutional functions. Slogans, barricades, and violence threaten the security of citizens as they obstruct the functioning of democratic institutions. This is why such methods should be considered as attempts to topple the constitutional order by violence and be opposed by all legitimate means.

2. The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, on the basis of the above cited political assessments and agreed on in the course of a comprehensive debate, proceeds from the results of the free and multiparty elections as well as from the adopted constitutional amendments which, after nearly five decades of single-party communist rule and the administrative and command-style economy, enabled the Republic of Croatia to embark resolutely on creating a state and social system based upon respect for human rights, legislative democracy, and a market economy.

While asserting its determination to defend, enforce, and develop even further the political sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and national equality, and to look after the interests of members of the Croatian people in other Yugoslav, European, and overseas countries, it [the Assembly] firmly believes that the existing disagreements as well as the crisis in relations between the people of the Yugoslav community can only be resolved through negotiations, that is, through a new agreement on potential togetherness or on an alliance of peoples. Being firmly committed to make the Republic of Croatia, now as well as in the future, a factor of peace and security on this soil; to political stability and democratic development; and to communications and all other integrative links in this part of Europe, it passed the following resolution at its emergency session of 24 August:

The obligation to respect the Constitution and laws, free unrestrained political activities of all citizens, and legislative political struggles are the core of every democratic political system and legal order and, consequently, of the Croatian one. Proceeding from these noble principles, a multiparty system, parliamentarianism, legislative forms of political struggle are limited only by the acceptance of and respect for the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Croatia, its existing constitutionally endorsed democratic order, its institutions, and its legal procedures of resolving all political interests, differences, and confrontations.

3. The unrest in some villages in the municipalities of Knin, Obrovac, Benkovac, and some other municipalities, populated mostly by Serbian people, with elements of armed rebellion, amounted not only to a negation of the above-mentioned political principles and commitments but to an attempt at imposing and legalizing the methods of political pressures and violent behavior, something what was reflected in many ways, ranging from dissemination of false information and criminal incidents along roads to terrorist threats to the general security of domestic and foreign citizens and property.

4. It is not just the national dignity of the Croatian people that was hurt by the use of the illegal and criminal forms of insurrection-style conduct but the feelings of most citizens in the republic too. Intranational relations were also worsened as the prospects for the Croats and Serbs in Croatia and Yugoslavia to develop coexistence in the future were damaged. This also caused enormous material damage, economic damage, particularly in those spheres which constitute Croatia's key developmental orientations such as tourism; foreign investment; trade; and international rail, road, and maritime communications which provide a considerable part of the funds for the development of underdeveloped areas, social, and state services. On the basis of the mentioned assessments, political principles, and stands, the Croatian Assembly has decided:

First, the Croatian Assembly remains resolute in its decision to guarantee all citizens living in Croatia all human, political, and national rights, at least to the extent to which these rights are guaranteed to the nations and ethnic communities in member countries of the European Community and other most developed democratic countries in Europe and North America.

Second, to put this decision into practice, the Croatian Assembly will secure further constitutional and legal institutionalization of the protection of human, political and national rights in the Republic of Croatia.

Third, at the same time the Croatian Assembly publicly expressed its decision and resoluteness that in the upcoming negotiations on a new state and legal agreement between nations of Yugoslavia and their states-republics and in diplomatic activities with neighboring countries in which the Croatian national minority exists it will ask for equal rights of all members of the Croatian nation.

Fourth, because of a persistent, organized, antidemocratic, and anticroatian instrumentalization of members of one nation in Croatia and an untrue and detrimental media campaign in the country and abroad, the Croatian Assembly orders the Croatian Government as soon as possible to publish Croatian and foreign editions of THE BLUE BOOK, which will contain the most important information on the results of multiparty elections, constitutional, and legal changes, plans for further democratic development of Croatia, and particularly on an institutional basis and practical protection and development of human, political, and national rights of all citizens as well as on the present forms and proponents of its violation and infringement.

Fifth, in this connection the Croatian Assembly is calling on the European Parliament and other competent both public and private organizations—which research and supervise the situation of human, political, and national ethnic rights in the world—to send their observers and representatives to Croatia to become informed freely and in an undisturbed way at the very source about the state of these rights in Croatia and particularly the rights of the Serbian and Croatian people in places where armed rebellion occurred.

Sixth, the Assembly orders the Government of the Republic of Croatia to apologize to relevant institutions of the countries from which tourists and other passengers came who stayed in the regions involved in the rebellion and who we exposed to maltreatment.

Seventh, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia publicly expresses its resoluteness to protect the constitutional order and laws of the Republic of Croatia by all the means of a law-governed state. In this connection the Croatian Assembly calls on the government and other competent bodies, according to principles of the democratic political system and penal legislation, to examine the responsibility of all state bodies and individuals for illegal and criminal acts which occurred during the armed rebellion and to inform the assembly on that.

Eighth, in connection with that the Croatian Assembly calls on the government to take appropriate measures in the scope of its competence and on the judicial bodies to examine and establish to what extent characteristics of criminal acts have been involved, and in such cases initiate appropriate legal proceedings against propenents of those forms of individual and group activities which can in a well-argumented way be classed as political violence and illegal and terrorist actions.

Acknowledging all decisions of the Presidency and the Government of the Republic of Croatia on the recent events and in accordance with general orientations and stands of the SFRY Presidency session of 21 August 1990, the Croatian Assembly expressly bans setting up and actions of any kind of noninstitutional or parallel government bodies, voluntary sentries, groups and units, and armed individuals, which all together threatens peace in the country and safety of passengers and international transportation, and by this the stability of this part of Europe.

The Croatian Assembly supports, in accordance with an agreement reached by the SFRY and the republican Presidencies, reaching an agreement on the regulation of interrepublican and intranational relations, on the basis of international law and norms of the civilized world.

Fourth, [as heard] at the moment of gradual normalization of the situation in places where the armed rebellion took place, the Croatian Assembly wishes to express its gratitude and praise all citizens of Croatia who in the recent days behaved in a peaceful and responsible way and thus contributed greatly to easing tensions and avoiding bloodshed. The same gratitude and praise should be expressed to the police as well as to the majority of political parties which by patient but resolute actions and responsible political statements contributed to stabilizing the situation, and, hopefully, to the peaceful, democratic reestablishment of full legal order in all those places where it was violated.

On the basis of all aforementioned stands, principles and decisions, the Croatian Assembly is calling on everybody, all citizens of the Republic of Croatia, irrespective of their national, religious or party affiliation, to continue with making their full contribution to the protection and implementation of the mentioned principles and decisions, which are all directed toward improvement of peaceful coexistence of all citizens and guests of the Republic of Croatia and its further overall progress. In Zagreb, 24 August 1990.

Session Met With 'Indignation' in Knin

AU2408185490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Milos Rajkovic report from Knin]

[Text] The people of the Knin region have been following the radio and television relays of the extraordinary session of the Croatian Assembly with visible indignation. Even those rare optimists who believed that reason would prevail in the parliament have been disappointed with the course of the session so far. The Knin people reacted with particular anger to the speech by Josko Kovac which they considered an insult to the Serbian people.

Today, the Knin Trade Union organization sent telegrams to the Trade Union Councils of Yugoslavia and Croatia and to Stjepan Mesic, republican prime minister. The reason for the telegrams is the decision taken yesterday by the Split Bank to freeze the account of the Tvik Screws Plant, the largest production enterprise in the area.

We asked Milenko (Tadic), secretary of the communal Trade Union Council, about the content of these telegrams.

[Begin Tadic recording] The content of the telegram is a call and appeal to the working class of Yugoslavia, and especially of Croatia, in these times full of passions, full of political passions, not to allow a split to occur in the working class and not to allow such an undemocratic conduct by the Croatian Government which has resorted to these sanctions in order to economically exhaust and destroy the people of this region, and especially our largest collective. This is the essence of the telegram. [end recording]

Let us add that in the Knin Railroad Transportation Enterprise, the second largest collective in the region, a Trade Union conference will be held this evening. It will adopt its decision on the way to express support to the Tvik working class. To put it plainly, it will decide whether the Knin railroad workers will go on strike.

TANJUG Reports Proceedings

LD2508033290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0139 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—The overwhelming number of speakers in the assembly of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia—both for the ruling Coalition Democratic Community (HDZ) and the opposition's left bloc—gave their support in debate here today to a resolution seeking to solve the situation arisen over the referendum on cultural autonomy for local Serbs in this republic and after the latest developments in the town of Knin through a political, democratic way and peacefully.

In the debate kept going until late into the night and ended then heard were differing evaluations of the crisis causes and motives, ranging from categorical claims that in question is a scenario directed and inspired outside Croatia and all the way to evaluations that involved is an act of spontaneous selforganizing by the local Serbs, in the area of Knin first of all. [sentence as received]

Ivica Racan, chief of the League of Croatian Communists-Party of Democratic Changes (SKH-SDP), voiced support to a peaceful settlement of the crisis and called on 'the authorities to behave responsibly and sensibly.' A consensus on essential political questions has to be reached, he said.

The SKH-SDP is against any repressive treatment of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and of any party as well, even against a possible ban on activity.

The Serbian Democratic Party's speaker, Ratko Licina, [words indistinct] one of its five representatives to come to the assembly session, said that the other SDS representatives did not appear since 'the SDS cannot communicate with a parliament whose leaders qualify its activity as terrorism.'

The Serbian population's response to the Croatian state terror has been spontaneous, Licina said.

The scenarists of developments in Knin and its neighbourhood have succeeded in stirring up a collective fear and a lack of security on both sides, Vladimir Seks, the assembly vice-president, said, calling for an account for acts of armed rebellion and terrorism in Croatia.

Turning down evaluations by some left bloc representatives that the ruling party's behaviour must have influenced the political situation's straining, Seks said that constitutional amendments in Croatia did not affect national equality at all in the Republic of Croatia.

The situation requires that clearly be said what the state of Croatia is and that the Serbs cannot have two states in Yugoslavia, it was said in the debate. There is no element to make it visible that the Serbian people are endangered in Croatia, it was also said.

Serbian Democratic Party Fails To Meet

LD2608135890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-CRoatian 1147 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Knin, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—The executive committee of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], whose session was announced in response to the session of the Croat Assembly, has again failed to meet this morning.

This was announced today at a Knin press conference with SDS spokesman Ognjen Ignjatovic. He said that "contacts between the Croatian leadership and the SDS are about to be established so that the two sides may commence official negotiations."

Manolic Elected New Croatian Prime Minster

LD2508223890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2134 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—At a joint session of all three chambers, the Assembly of the Republic of Coratia Josip Manolic as the new president of the republican government late this evening. Manolic was elected in an open ballot, with three votes being cast against him. Manolic also proposed changes in the government's composition.

The Assembly unanimously accepted its proposal that retired Colonel General Martin Spegelj, a member of the Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Changes (SKH-SDP), be appointed a member of the government and the new minister for national defense. On the occasion of this appointment, Gordana Grbic, on behalf of the leftist bloc, stated that this meets the need for a highly qualified person to take up this responsible post without the SKH-SDP taking on any responsibility—in other words this does not constitute a coalition.

The previous defense minister, Petar Kriste, was also unanimously appointed minister for commodity trade.

The Assembly went on to elect Simo Rajic, of the SKH-SDP, to the post of Asssemby vice-president in a majority vote (11 voted against his nomination).

Prior to this, in a secret ballot, Ante Karic was elected a member of the Croatian Assembly in the Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces, while Ivan Lucev was relieved of these duties as a result of his transfer to a new post.

Mesic Named New Presidency Member

LD2408214390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—Late this evening the Croatian Assembly, in a secret ballot at its extraordinary joint session of all three chambers, elected Stipe Mesic, former president of the republican government, as the new SFRY Presidency member from Croatia. He is replacing Dr. Stipe Suvar, who was just relieved of that post.

Two hundred and twenty-five deputies voted for his election, while 19 ballots were invalid.

Stipe Mesic will take over his new duties on the day the election is verified in the SFRY Assembly.

Markovic Cables Mesic, Manolic

LD2508224490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, has sent a telegram to Stipe Mesic in connection with the proposal of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia that he be elected as a member of the Yugoslav Presidency. Ante Markovic also sent a telegram of congratulations to Josip Manolic, president of the government of the Republic of Croatia, in which he stressed:

By virtue of this you have taken on responsibility for the implementation of the changes we have embarked upon, especially those connected with the reform program and with the further progressive development of the Republic of Croatia and Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Suvar Analyzes His 'Replacement'

LD2508014490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2115 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—The Croatian Assembly replaced Dr Stipe Suvar as the republican representatives in the Yugoslav State Presidency this evening.

The vote was by secret ballot with 218 deputies voting in favour, and 40 against. Suvar [words indistinct] that he had been legally and legitimately elected for a five-year term by the previous assembly in the manners and following the procedure proscribed by the Constitution and working regulations.

"I was elected by the same assembly which prepared and introduced all the constituional and legal norms for the legality and legitimacy of multi-party elections, and therefore for the arrival of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ] to power," Suvar said.

He rejected views that his replacement was a result of his being a "representative of the old one-party assembly" and that this was an "expression of the victory of democracy". He added that he considers his replacing a dismissal.

Suvar also said he was pleased that Dr Tudjman's speech about him indicated that the proposal on Suvar's replacement at this moment was not motivated by his alleged inactivity and passiveness in view of recent events. He stressed that he had called for a session of the Yugoslav State Presidency immediately after learning of the actions of the Serb Democratic Party (SDP) [SDS] in regard to the arming of the Serb population and closing approaches to Serb-populated villages in Croatia.

Suvar said that his replacement was the successful realisation of an old wish of the so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution in the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro and the Province of Vojvodina. Their wish was for him to be removed as one of the infamous leaders of the anti-Serbian coalition, he said and added that it included his being replaced by Croatia, where some people are behaving in the spirit of the typically Croatian CDU-like anti-bureaucratic revolution.

Dr Suvar also said that he was recently offered the post of ambassador by Dr Tudjman, but that he refused the proposal, saying he would stay in Croatia to fight on the left wing.

Events in Knin Continue To Draw Media Responses

'Less Room' for 'Necessary Dialogue'

AU2608191090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 90 p 3

[Z. Tarle article: "What Will Happen Next?"]

[Text] Knin—The referendum did happen. Some analysts are saying that this is a defeat for the new Croatian leadership. It was publicly promised, and then in various ways repeated, that the referendum, or political voting "for" or "against," would be prevented with all available means.

However, Dr. Milan Babic, president of the Knin commune, said that if the referendum was going to be prevented at any cost, it would have been held at any cost.

For the time being the president of the Knin commune is right.

Between these two diametrically opposed, threatening, and explosive opinions were and still are the people and their problems, which are identical for both Croats and Serbs who live in this area. We are talking about the least developed part of Croatia. The stories about special units, false alarms, the rebels' headquarters going into hiding, the leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party arming themselves, a lack of timely and objective information—all this fitted into the dramatic picture of tensions and waiting, into this unprecedented media war between Belgrade and Zagreb.

Croatian newspapers are no longer sold in Knin (only SLOBODNA DALMACIJA reaches this area). The link between village sentries and the headquarters is broken. Does the "Knin republic" exist? Who is in charge of it? Are the Knin militiamen in the service of this "republic," that is, with their people, or are they still under the command of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs? How are they bound by the law?

There is much, too much, playing with people's patience.

What will happen next on the political scene? Very few people believe that the measures of repression will be applied. And yet Serbs are ready to fight, not, as they say, the Croatian people, but Ustashas, Croatian chauvinists, and some special forces.

Nobody is ready to assume responsibility. The Serbs in Croatia say that they were forced to defend themselves, while the Croatian population blames the Serbs and the Serbian Democratic Party for everything. There is unfortunately less and less room for a necessary dialogue without which cohabitation in this part of the country is impossible. Sentries cannot go on forever. It is the time for people to return to daily commitments, fields, and factories.

The referendum has succeeded. The answer of the Croatian Government and Assembly is awaited. The further denouement of the situation will in many ways depend on that answer. The calm day in Knin yesterday does not mean anything but further forebodings and tensions.

A joint solution is not in the sight, at least not behind barricades, village sentries, shelters, blockades, sleepless nights, despair, a media war, etc....

Journalists Protest Guards' Actions

LD2508040390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Tex] Ljubljana, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—In a public statement, the management committee of the Slovene Journalists' Society (DNS) today expressed public protest against the behavior of armed guards who prevented members of this society from carrying out their professional work.

"At 1800 hours [1600 GMT] on Sunday 19 August, armed civilians threatened two journalists with automatic weapons at a barricade several kilometers from Kistanje, on the road from Knin to Benkovac, and forcibly confiscated a camera and destroyed the exposed film," a statement by the journalists' society says. It adds that there were a number of similar incidents, and they were experienced "not only by members of the DNS but also by reporters from other Yugoslav enterprises as well as foreign reporters."

"We resolutely protest against this behavior and call on the legal Croatian authorities to ensure safety and the undisturbed performance of journalistic work throughout the Knin region, because it is only in this way that we can guarantee the objectivity of information," the statement of the management committee of the DNS stresses.

DELO Views 'Damage' Done Abroad

AU2708071590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Aug 90 p 1

[Darijan Kosir commentary: "The 'Dive' in the European Ghetto"]

[Text] The weight of the political and economic damage that the "Knin uprising" has done to Yugoslavia at home and abroad cannot be precisely determined. We will only be able to determine it after we calculate all the consequences of the fact that foreign tourists fled during the peak season, and the cost that we will pay for the guests who will never come to this "Balkan dive" again. The damage caused abroad, as the first practical consequence of the Serbian people "appearing on the stage," will undoubtedly be huge; not only because the nationalists chose to perform their act during the very part of the tourist season which is one of the most economically sensitive, but above all because this nationalist madness again ignored many different aspects, among which the foreign political one is probably still the most sensitive.

This aspect is the most important one in the whole story. Circles in Bonn, that are otherwise fond of us, immediately started talking about a clash in the southeast of Europe which may cause chaos on the EC's doorstep. There will be no meetings of official international institutions to condemn us because of this; anyhow, it would most probably be futile to do so, for our federal organs simply do not care about such appeals and resolutions. No, we are promised a much worse fate: In the drafting of the new European interstate agreement and the erection of the new European structure, it is becoming ever more obvious that there will be no room for the "Balkan dive" even in the foyer of that building, let alone on some more important and prominent upper floor. If "chaos" really breaks out, as Bonn fears, then the West will place us merely among the crime stories of its television newscasts, together with Liberia, Iraq, and South Africa, the states that—due to similar "Knin-type" clashes—everybody has been watching lately only with scorn, or fear, or over the barrel of a gun.

Montenegrin Party Not To Send Volunteers to Knin

LD2508212890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0917 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The formation of the voluntary civilian headquarters in Niksic was prompted by our findings concerning the Serbian people in Croatia being upset and threatened, and not by any intention to create parallel organs of authority—this is said in a statement from the volunteers' headquarters in Niksic under whose command the voluntary squads, formed by the People's Party on the eve of the Knin region referendum, placed themselves.

After the announcement, of the SFRY Presidency's position and Colonel Vuk Obradovic's statement, we cancelled all our activities in support of their stands, believing that Yugoslavia is capable of defending its constitutional order and the rights of all its citizens, the statement stresses. [passage omitted]

Details of Kosovo Strike Planned for 3 Sep

LD2408140690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—The coordination group of the Federation of the Kosovo Independent Trade Unions [Koordinaciona Gupa Unije Nezavisnog Sindikata Kosova] is not calling off the general strike announced for 3 September. Moreover, today at "an urgently convened" news conference it has presented "guidelines" for the strike. It has decided the strike will last 24 hours. Albanians will express their protest by refusing to go to work or go into streets, except in case of an emergency.

During the strike, teams on duty in health institutions, pharmacies, water supply organizations, electricity boards, fire brigades, and security institutions will be reinforced. They are to remain at their posts until the strike ends, but as a sign of solidarity with the strike they will wear black and green armbands on their left sleeves.

Durakovic Favors 'Federative,' 'Socialist' Union

LD2508193390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1149 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Bugojno, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The survival and free evidence of all Yugoslav peoples cannot be secured through the creation of "pseudo-feudal mini-states," Nijaz Durakovic, leader of League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina-Party of Democratic Changes, said today at a rally in the town of Bugojno (Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina).

Durakovic's remark expressed his disapproval of what he called "those who seek to break up Yugoslavia."

Durakovic came out in favour of a modern, democratic, federative and socialist Yugoslavia, in which every nation should preserve its own national identity.

He said that a Yugoslav Federation based on new social relations, on a market economy, a democratic political system and parliamentary democracy would create conditions for settling all national questions in an optimal manner, on the principles of national freedom and equality.

Durakovic's words imply his opposition to views advocated by [word indistinct] extremist nationalist political parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Durakovic, whose address is part of a campaign ahead of the first post-war multi-party elections in the republic (scheduled for November this year), recalled that millions of human lives and an incalculable amount of suffering and yearning for freedom had been invested into the creation of Yugoslavia, in the first, and especially the Second World War.

'Biggest' Postwar Muslim Rally Held in Foca

LD2508223290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Foca, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The biggest post-war rally of Yugoslavia's Muslims was held today in Foca, Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The rally, organized by the Democratic Action Party (former Muslim Party), was attended by 150,000-200,000 people who came to pay their respects to the victims of Chetnik atrocities in World War Two. Chetniks were Serbian anti-communsts who collaborated with the enemy against the partisans.

The Foca rally was attended by all members of the leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Democratic Action Party, representatives of the Islamic community—headed by Reis El Uleim Jakub [name indistinct], the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Democratic Union, the Kosovo Alternative Movement, the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, etc.

All speakers pointed out the necessity of peaceful life in harmony and tolerance which is possible only through democratic relations and in conditions of legally elected authorities.

The first multi-party elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a multi-national republic inhabited by Muslims, Serbs (orthodox) and Croats (Catholic), will be held this fall.

Peterle Attends 'Open Border' Day Ceremonies

LD2608183690 Budapest MTI in English 1751 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, 26 Aug (MTI)—An international "open border" meeting was held on Sunday [26 August] in Tornyiszentmiklos, south-west Hungary, by representatives of the local residents and the residents of the neighbouring Pince village of Slovenia.

Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle and Laszlo Vargo, president of the Zala County Concil, opened the "Green" border for two days, in the presence of Rudi Sova, the Yugoslav ambassador to Hungary.

Roundtable discusisons between the Zala County and the Slovenian delegations are to continue on Monday in Pince, Slovenia.

In answer to MTI's question regarding his current evaluation of the situation in the Yugoslav state federation, Lojze Peterle, president of the Executive Councl of the Republic of Slovenia, said, among others:

"This federation is de facto dead, but it is de jure still operating. What is recently taking place in Yugoslavia implies the gradual disintegration of the federal state. We are increasingly becoming convinced that all republics should become independent, and that a possible confederation agreement could be reached on this basis. A precondition of this is a resolution setting down the sovereignty of the member states, including Slovenia, and our parliament is expected to discuss the draft of this in the course of this month."